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CONFRONT THE WARMAKERS IN WASHINGTON, D.C. OCT. 21!

SATURDAY, OCT. 21

ASSEMBLE: 10 AM (two locations) Lincoln Memorial • Washington Monument

MARCH: Begins 11 AM to field near Pentagon

RALLY: 2:30 PM at field near Pentagon

DIRECT ACTION: 4 PM. Those who wish to participate will leave the rally for a peaceful sit-in to block the halls and entrances of the Pentagon. Others will either remain at the rally or, if they wish, can go to their buses.

SUNDAY, OCT. 22

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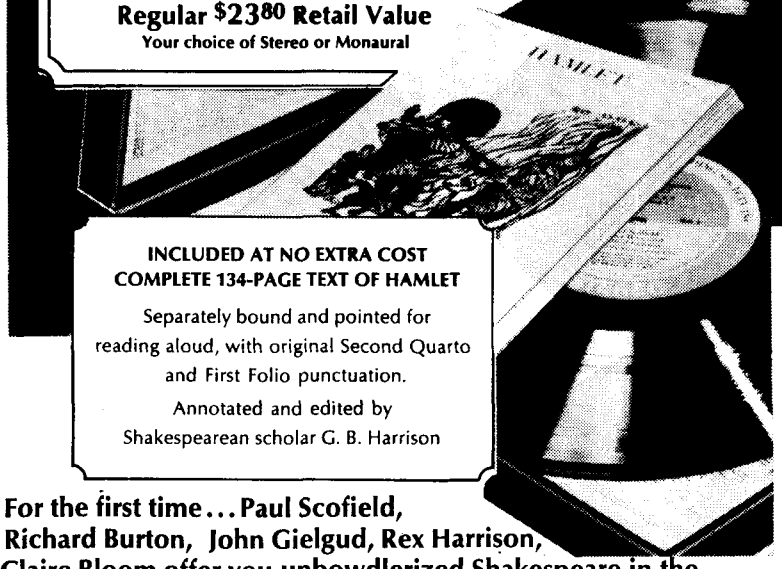

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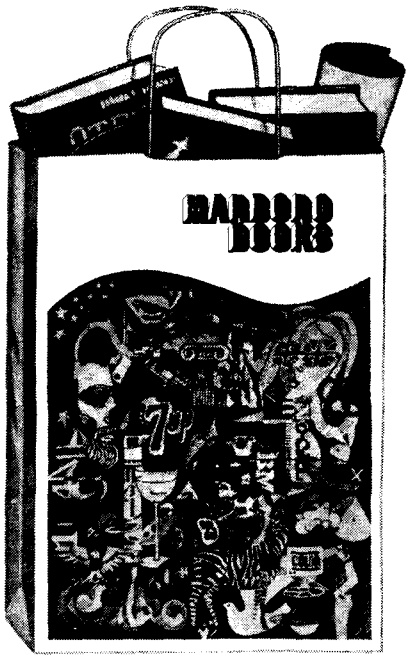

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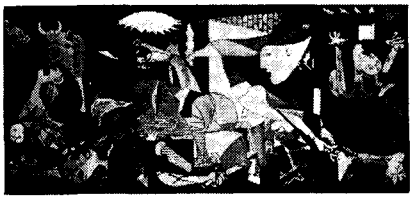

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Paying for Power

★ When you pay your electric bill you may be contributing to the Manion Forum or the John Birch Society. Some private utilities also hire firms to distribute canned editorials criticizing government regulation and waste of taxpayers' dollars for such things as TVA. They put propaganda into schools. Costs for such activities often go into operating expenses and are charged to consumers. In 1964 the Federal Power Commission investigated a charge that Montana Dakota Utilities had distributed antipublic ownership propaganda. Yes, it had, it reported, and the cost had been charged to consumers.

Let's forget Vietnam this week and consider why the wife of an assistant professor at Urbana, Ill., paid $13.51 for a monthly light bill to the Illinois Power Co., while her younger sister, less than 100 miles away, paid only $7.70 for the same amount of current – 500 kilowatt hours – to a city-owned agency in Springfield.

Or why a Boston barber paid $13.41 to Boston Edison while his brother was paying only $5 for the same amount to Seattle City Light. Or why a clerk in Tennessee paid $6.90 to the Knoxville Utilities Board, and found that when he moved to NYC he paid $14.76 to Consolidated Edison.

If it had been bread or eggs, now, there would have been some regional price differences, of course, but not as dramatic as this. Yet the electric power industry is the largest industry in the country. In 30 years it has multiplied six times. It is almost integrated – a failure in Canada blacks out New York; in no time the nation will be one big grid. Utilities are risk-free, government-subsidized monopolies without the kind of competition that keeps down the price of bread, say, in most localities.

Theoretically the Federal Power Commission and SEC are watchdogs for the utilities but that is only over interstate companies. Retail regulation is a state matter. And in many states that is a sick joke. Some state commissions are just a desk and a telephone and some clerks. Some states, like Texas, have no commission at all. Modern automatic data processing could quickly audit company books. So far only two states, California and Wisconsin, have done this to a significant degree. Here and there city-owned power companies provide a yardstick but there aren't many. In Canada, by contrast, most cities own the plants.

The subject comes up now for two reasons. National consumers' organizations meet here, November 2-3, in the Consumers Assembly; speakers – Betty Furness, Paul Douglas, Edward P. Morgan, Sen. Lee Metcalf, and others. Electric rates will be a topic.

Secondly, the Senate Committee on Commerce has just made available testimony taken last June, including a seven-page table of charges of the nation's largest electric utilities. These are placed against a theoretical fair return, based on 6 percent. The final table shows the difference between fair return and actual charges. Sen. Metcalf calls this difference "overcharge," the name of his new book (*Overcharge*, David McKay Co., $5.95, 1967).

Your local utility is probably on the list in the Senate testimony. It's available to your local newspaper, too, but you probably won't find it. You can get the list by writing to Metcalf's office.

Is this important? Yes, it is. The use of electricity will probably triple by 1980. Modern technology is thrusting toward cheaper costs (atomic energy; better transmission). The FPC sees a possible saving of $11 billion a year; that's $150 a family. But will the family get it? Or will the companies write down as "advertising" giant campaigns against proper regulation? There's a chapter on that in *Overcharge*.

It's the old issue all over again between the federal government and the states. Oh how Big Business loves states rights! That's because inadequate, underpaid, ignorant state legislatures are generally easy to push around, or to buy and sell. Lobbyists love state regulation; hate federal regulation. This year the Montana legislature, for example, killed a proposed utility study. The Iowa Senate approved such a study, the Iowa House killed it. Here's a nationwide industry, all but integrated, and it's still regulated piecemeal by the states.

Typically, the chairman of Florida's commission (supposed to guard consumers) told the Senate committee that "the best regulation is little or no regulation." Florida overcharges are high.

How can a state commission estimate whether a company is cheating on a "fair" return if it has no way of determining true capitalization? There's enough padding in some of these rate bases to make Twiggy look like Santa Claus. For all US Class A & B companies the return on combined equity in 1937 was 7.2 percent; in 1965 it had climbed to 12.3 percent. Here are examples of overcharge contained in the Metcalf Senate testimony of June 8: Detroit Edison, $21.7 million; Houston Lighting & Power, $22.7 million; Commonwealth Edison Co. (Ill.), $39.8 million.

Total overcharges for the nation during 1965 – $618,733,000.

Messrs. Metcalf and Reinemer say that a single agency hired by investor-owned utilities (IOU's) in 1964 put out no less than a million canned editorials praising free enterprise and denouncing federal interference. These editorials appear anonymously in small papers around the country. Propaganda goes into schools, too; all charged to advertising. The magazine that "does most for investor-owned utilities is *Reader's Digest*," say Metcalf and Reinemer; it gets "a quarter million dollars annually" from IOU advertising.

We note with amusement this week that *Reader's Digest* complains to the editor of *Labor* (weekly magazine of rail unions) for criticizing one of its articles. It is an iron-clad *Digest* rule never to print letters replying to its own prejudicial criticisms.

And finally the *US News & World Report* tells me that David Lawrence is no longer a stockholder, and it is wholly owned by employees. Correction noted.

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Europe Minus America

In spite of Vietnam, the United States still has about a quarter million troops and huge caches of nuclear weapons in Europe. But this presence chills Europeans these days, instead of comforting them. They think we are trigger-crazy to be risking a wholly unnecessary war with China, while we at the same time prick Russia into a new missiles contest. The Pentagon decision to proceed with the deployment of a "thin" anti-missile system has half-convinced many Europeans that the architect of American policy must be the coalition of industrialists and military brass whose growing influence President Eisenhower feared. They suspect that the military-industrial complex will go on raising the ante until hell breaks loose. General de Gaulle said a couple of months ago that France for its part refused to risk becoming a "battlefield" for American and Russian expeditionary forces or a "target for their alternating bombs." And what seemed like Elysee Palace hot air in the summer appears to more and more Europeans to have a ring of truth. De Gaulle may press his advantage. "By leaving the bloc system," he said in August, "France has perhaps given the signal for a general evolution toward international detente." Washington ignored that hint. Now Europe is filled with rumors that de Gaulle may be about to foreshadow a further step: denunciation of the Atlantic Treaty, and a new plan for European security involving America's expulsion militarily from Europe.

The general is said to have unveiled his plan to Wladyslaw Gomulka, during de Gaulle's recent visit to Warsaw. He reportedly proposed disbanding both NATO and the Warsaw Pact; all foreign troops – British and Canadian as well as American – would be asked to leave; a neutral, nuclear-free area would be declared, to include both West and East Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. West Germany would still retain its big army, but no longer would there be American nuclear weapons on German soil. East Germany would be recognized as a separate state, and reunification of Germany would require Russian (and French) consent. West Germany would continue economically strong, but militarily and politically Russia and France would dominate the European landscape. Not surprisingly, Russia as well as Poland is said to have approved the de Gaulle plan. Moscow must be aware that the general's motives include his hope of luring the Poles and the Balkan countries out of Russia's orbit into his own, as well as keeping the Germans divided and ousting the Americans. But sharing domination of the continent with France, for

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a while, would be a small price for Russia to pay to get the Americans out of Europe.

This side of the ocean, practically everyone except the Administration's official spokesmen know how deep the erosion of the postwar European alliance has gone. A week after de Gaulle's speech, on August 19, Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D, Wis.) said in Milwaukee: "While Vietnam has hogged our attention, our European policy has crumbled away to virtual nonexistence. We need to recreate a European policy based on current realities." The Republicans had got in before him. On August 14, their House committee on Western alliances reported that "American disregard of NATO has served dramatically to weaken the common interest." To counter European disinterest in NATO the committee recommended "more equitable distribution of NATO command positions including the appointment of a European as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe." But the Republicans thought it was "at present inconceivable that any member state, even France" would exercise the option that comes up in 1969, under article 13, to withdraw altogether from the 20-year-old North Atlantic Treaty. They could be wrong about that, as they are certainly wrong in believing that all that's needed to keep the Europeans in line is a sop like a Supreme Commander. What's bothering Europeans isn't American disregard, though McNamara's ABM announcement seemingly was made without advance warning to the European allies, and there have been other apparent instances of overbearing neglect. The Europeans are worried by the prospect of being dragged into wars brought on by such American policies as "containing" China. Each time General de Gaulle jeers at countries still foolish enough to "confide their destinies" to American "hegemony," he is jabbing at a sensitive nerve.

The Administration quit listening to de Gaulle long ago. Its ears are open in the main only to those who tell it what it wants to hear. These include American ambassadors in Europe, who aren't about to lose their heads by filing dispatches filled with unpleasant truths. European ambassadors in Washington make only tactful noises, because their countries are still anxious for American economic and other favors. The European press of course cuts little ice in Washington; all newspapers anywhere are liars if they don't praise the President. But playing deaf to our European critics means that the US is chancing Europe's accepting eventually some such plan as the one de Gaulle is reported to have dreamed up. Getting to grips with current realities, as Representative Reuss rightly advised, calls for new policies, tailored to an entirely different Europe from the one NATO was devised to defend. Europeans aren't terrified by the Russians; the continent now has more self-confidence than is possessed by this country, which is as choked with uncertainties and gloom as its policies are. Moreover, Europeans are bored and disgusted with American obsessions with violence, the way God was said by Victor Hugo to have become bored with Napoleon. Reshuffling NATO command positions, or even holding out hopes of the Europeans acquiring their own "nuclear deterrent," won't dispel disenchantment with America. Only an American change away from war and fear will work a cure.

What this implies, in European terms, is quite simple. Take Germany, not the sole but surely the chief source of two great European wars in the past half century. Representative Reuss told his Milwaukee audience, "In the long run there are few if any American interests higher than the maintenance of good relations with Germany." The exaggeration has truth in it if allowance is made for where Reuss was making his pitch. Germany is still the potentially strongest country in Europe and likely to remain so. But the West German government needs time to work out a deal with East Germany that will remove the tensions and anomalies that focus on the hideous Berlin Wall, and it knows this cannot be done save through the acquiescence of Germany's East European neighbors and the Soviet Union. Time, patience, an atmosphere of tranquility are the three chief needs of the West Germans, and this goes for the entire continent, from the Italians who are in NATO to the Swedes who are not. To that extent, European realities are with General de Gaulle.

Fortunately, Europe isn't yet so fed up with our jitters as to buy the general's holy war on Anglo-Saxons. Most Europeans, including most Frenchmen, don't want NATO dismantled or the Americans expelled from the continent. An American reversion to the cold storage of isolationism is just about the last thing thinking Europeans wish. They do, however, want the NATO military structure put in perspective, as a useful but undramatic defense mechanism of a Europe not under siege. This suggests no pressing call for liquidation of either NATO or the Warsaw Pact, or even, as the Rumanian deputy foreign minister again urged last week, the withdrawal of all American *and* Russian forces behind their own borders. It does suggest the need, even inevitability, of cutbacks in size and complexity. Instead, the US by spending $70 billion on weapons compels the Russians to up their spending to $50 billion, and there is continual American admonishing of Europeans to stay firm and support US policies of more arms, more "containment." By or before 1969, the Europeans may be sold on de Gaulle's line of tearing down NATO and sending Americans packing. That is the likely result of panic policies and grandiose commitments which frighten friends far more than they overawe anyone else.

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Bilingual Education

Last summer, Senator Ralph Yarborough (D, Texas) held hearings in the Southwest on the educational afflictions of Spanish-speaking Mexican-Americans. As the author of a bill to funnel federal funds into bilingual educational systems in certain sections of the country, Yarborough was interested in getting the opinions of the Spanish-speaking themselves, and of the professional educators who have been studying this situation for years. He brought back to Washington a wealth of evidence, showing that it is largely the language barrier that blocks the 6-7 million Spanish-speaking from climbing up the economic ladder.

The average number of school years completed by the "Anglo" child in the Southwest is 12.1 years; for the Negro it is nine years; for the Mexican-American, 7.1 years. Relatively poor educational achievement is reflected in an extremely high unemployment rate among the Spanish-speaking. It is seen also in the fact that the Southwest's badly paid migratory labor force, once made up of the Deep South's dispossessed sharecroppers, is now largely composed of Spanish-speaking workers.

According to a study by Dr. Faye Bumpass of Texas Technological Institute, there are at least 1,750,000 schoolchildren with Spanish surnames in the five-state area of Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and California. These children, she told Senator Yarborough's subcommittee on bilingual education "are suffering from linguistic, cultural and psychological handicaps that cause them to experience academic failure in our schools." Senator Robert Kennedy has made a similar observation about Spanish-speaking youngsters in New York City. At hearings in East Harlem, recently, he noted that of 250,000 Puerto Ricans in the New York public school system, only 37 went on to college last year.

A report of the Texas Education Agency revealed that in 1957 – the only year such a survey was made – about 80 percent of the non-English-speaking children in that state had to spend two years in the first grade. Forty percent of the Southwest's Spanish-speaking pupils are in Texas. But during the last session of the state legislature, a bill to provide English-Spanish instruction in most subjects in certain public schools became so embroiled in controversy, to the consternation of educators, that it was dropped. Its opponents contended that Texans of German ancestry and those living near the French-speaking areas of Louisiana were against making Spanish a second language. By the time the bill was rewritten to provide a sort of local option on the language issue, interest had waned and the proposal was quietly shelved.

In California, where it is estimated there are 461,000 schoolchildren from Spanish-speaking homes, bilingual legislation has fared somewhat better. School districts may teach children in their native language if they do not have a working knowledge of English. The drawback here is that the legislation is merely permissive, and that local school districts must finance the bilingual training. As might be expected, school districts with the largest proportion of Spanish-speaking students are the worst off, and unless more aid is provided by the state – a dim prospect under the cost-conscious Reagan administration – the program is not likely to be carried out where it is needed most.

This may explain the interest of many Californians in a bill Senator Yarborough and others (including Robert Kennedy) are drawing up. It calls for appropriating in the neighborhood of $50 million over a three-year period to assist local school districts set up bilingual instruction, with Spanish taught as a native language and English as a mandatory second language. It also would help underwrite the training of Spanish-speaking teachers. Two Los Angeles congressmen, Edward Roybal and George Brown, have introduced similar legislation in the House, and they have been joined by Rep. James Scheuer of New York.

At a hearing in Los Angeles, Senator George Murphy brought out that 50 percent of Spanish-speaking students in California drop out of school by the time they reach the eighth grade, which he found "shocking" and in part the result of "the language problem." Senator Thomas Kuchel suggested treating "the ability to speak Spanish and other languages as an asset. The United States can no longer pretend that it can communicate with other people with but one tongue – no matter how widely the English language is spread over the earth." Both California senators are on Mr. Yarborough's subcommittee.

Representatives of all organized Mexican-American groups were at the Los Angeles hearing and were unanimous in support of a federal subsidy for bilingual education. One of the spokesmen pointed out that according to the population ratio in California at least 20,000 Mexican-Americans should be enrolled in the state's colleges, whereas the figure is around 2,000.

In the past, Americanism has been equated with ability to speak English, and nothing but. Undoubtedly there are many congressmen who feel that the "melting pot" principle is sacrosanct. But in the simpler society of the past – when the "melting pot" was going full boil – the great need was for manual, not educated, labor; brawn or dexterity often were prized as much as formal schooling. (Even then, however, in the 1890's, there were towns and cities where public school instruction was conducted for part of the day in a language other than English.) Today, machines have shrunk the market for manual labor. In a complicated,

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computerized world the need has shifted to workers who can quickly master new concepts and techniques – and a prerequisite for such workers is a high degree of comprehension – and that means schooling.

There are almost two million children who will drop out of school and end up on the economic slag heap because of an almost insurmountable language barrier. Professional educators are aware of it. It remains to be seen whether Congress is.

Enter the Urban Coalition

An "urban coalition," led by organized labor's effective lobbyists, is claiming a victory-in-defeat in the aftermath of last week's antipoverty maneuvering on the Senate floor. Aside from the fact that the annual authorization bill for the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) came through unscathed, thus setting the stage for a confrontation in the Senate-House conference should the House cut up the OEO program in the weeks ahead, the coalition was able to establish strong, though not yet winning, bipartisan support for Sen. Joseph Clark's plan to use public funds to create jobs in the private and public sectors.

Senator Clark was talking about the need for publicly financed jobs as early as March; and, following last summer's riots in the Northern ghettos, decided this plan should be joined to the upcoming OEO bill. He proposed that 500,000 jobs in public service fields be created over a two-year period, at a cost of $2 billion, for the hard-core unemployed – young people and Negroes, which so often means young Negroes.

It was in committee that supporters of the Clark proposal received one of several important breaks. The White House, faced with the need to fight for reduced expenditures – the price tag conservatives in Congress have put on President Johnson's proposed 10 percent tax surcharge – was automatically opposed. The White House objected because of the acute financial burden imposed by the over $2 billion per month being spent for Vietnam. A goof-up of the type that is becoming common in White House dealings with "The Hill" saved the day. The White House directed OEO to circulate a memorandum opposing the Clark proposal, but the aide handling the matter neglected to notify Senator Clark, a breach of courtesy that prompted his Senate colleagues to rally behind him. So, the committee reported the antipoverty bill out to the floor, with Clark's $2 billion proposal attached.

The second break came in the development of a bipartisan bloc. Seeking to rally additional Republican votes (only Javits and Case backed it originally), the "urban coalition" worked through ADA, which in turn urged Arlen Spector, its GOP candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, to endorse Clark's plan. He did and asked Sen. Hugh Scott (R, Pa.) to follow suit. Scott did and a bipartisan coalition began to emerge.

It was clear from the beginning that the Administration would have the votes to defeat it on the Senate floor, but it was also apparent that the "urban coalition" needed to establish broad agreement on the principle of using public funds to create jobs if the issue were to be joined for the future. At a crucial point, Sen. Winston Prouty (R, Vt.) put forward a one-year, $925 million substitute that would have provided job counseling and training for the disadvantaged, services which business is not offering the unemployed.

At this point, the "urban coalition" and Senator Clark decided to make their fight on the Prouty amendment, hoping to pick up nine additional Republicans. They added 13 but were beaten on the floor 47-42.

If it seems strange to describe defeat as victory, even so close a defeat, some of the spin-off has to be kept in mind.

First, the vote on the Prouty amendment found Republicans backing the spending of federal money for jobs in the public sector, and backstage lobbying found labor and its allies working to put such funds into the private sector. Although organized labor provided the lobbying shock troops, business leaders from Ford, General Electric, Metropolitan Life and Alcoa, to name a few, signed statements supporting it that gave GOP moderates a green light. Church groups, the NAACP, the Conference of Mayors and the League of Cities, all normally part of the "urban coalition," lined up behind the Clark-Prouty approach.

Secondly, the joining of forces behind the Clark-Prouty plan no doubt helped save the OEO program from dismemberment. Not a single major damaging amendment was passed. The amendment to the poverty bill offered by Sen. George Murphy (R, Calif.), giving governors a right to veto migrant projects (regarded as a special piece of legislation for Governors Ronald Reagan and John Connally of Texas and backed by conservative and rurally oriented groups) was defeated 45-41. Attempts to cut poverty funds (the program is funded at $200 million above last year's level in the Senate bill) and to parcel out OEO projects (Job Corps to the Labor Department, Head Start to the Office of Education, etc.) were soundly defeated. Thus, regardless of what the House does, OEO backers will go to conference with a Senate bill intact.

The long-range significance of the urban coalition's success in rallying substantial bipartisan support for the Clark-Prouty proposal is more important. It is a positive answer to the growing anti-welfare, anti-OEO attitude busting out not only in Congress but across

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the country. The Senate Finance Committee is already trying to cope with the stringent set of regulations Chairman Wilbur D. Mills and his House Ways and Means Committee worked out to deal with an increasingly unpopular welfare program. Now, the Clark-Prouty people can say a real alternative has been offered – jobs for fathers who have to leave home, and jobs in service fields (hospitals, schools, recreation departments) already in short supply of labor.

A similar move is developing in the House where Rep. James O'Hara (D, Mich.), chairman of the Democratic Study Group, has offered a more ambitious plan, for which he has picked up 76 sponsors. The O'Hara bill would create up to one million public service jobs paying $4,000 per year ($4 billion), again aimed at the hard core of unemployed. O'Hara plans to have hearings on his bill later this year.

Labor lobbyists report that no senator of moderate-to-liberal leanings opposed the public service job concept, thus leading supporters to believe such a plan would pass the Senate with ease once the pressure of Vietnam spending is removed. The approach has been endorsed by the National Commission on Automation, Technology and Programs; the Crime Commission; the Advisory Council on Public Welfare; and the Food and Fibre Commission. Supporters insist it will take off public welfare – both during the long, hot summer and the long, cold winter – many able persons who want work, will give on-the-job training skills, provide job experience and fill a need in the public service field.

The Man Nobody Knows

Shirley Temple may not be taken seriously by some as a congressional candidate (nor was the song-and-dance man who became senator), but that does not mean that the contest for the seat of the late Rep. J. Arthur Younger in San Mateo County, California, is frivolous, or that there is no one running against the former child star. The feature press has given that impression and by doting on how Little Miss Marker became Mrs. Republican Candidate they may get Miss Temple (Mrs. Charles Black) elected. Her residual fame is obviously a great advantage in a race in which there are 14 John Doe candidates (six other Republicans, seven Democrats and one independent). The preliminary voting – not a primary in the strict sense – is November 14. Voters may pick any candidate, irrespective of party and – assuming no one wins a clear majority – the Republican and Democrat polling the greatest number of votes will face each other in December.

Miss Temple wants a military victory in Vietnam and would give the Joint Chiefs free hand in determining how the war is to be won. She is against dirty movies and high taxes. That is her platform and it is not without appeal in California and elsewhere. Only her face and fame distinguish her from her hawkish Republican opponents – William Draper III (of the Draper Report on World Population Control family), Robert Barry, a former congressman from Westchester County, New York, who ran for Congress last year in Southern California and who is basing his current candidacy on land holdings in the district, and Earl Whitmore, the county sheriff who would escalate the war and help local police fight crime. The Democratic city council of South San Francisco has endorsed the sheriff, reasoning that since it is a traditionally Republican county everyone might as well support the Republican of his choice in the November special election. Then there is a liberal Republican minister and junior college teacher – virtuous but with little political appeal. And finally among the Republicans is ex-Lt. Col. Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey Jr., by all odds the most interesting of the lot. He has all the superficial attributes of a successful politician (photogenic family, service in Korea, law practice, etc.). He identifies himself with Senator Kuchel on domestic issues and is, with 20 years in the Marines behind him, opposed to the direction the Vietnam war is taking.

Democrats include several doves, most of them with-

"I never dreamed that someday she'd be mine."

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out meaningful political backing. Edward Keating, the deposed sugar daddy of *Ramparts* ran for the same seat in last year's Democratic primary, lost, and is not likely to do even as well this time with other peace candidates in the race. The Democrat with the best chance has said nothing on Vietnam or much else (though he does favor international recognition of equal rights for women).

McCloskey is by far the most impressive candidate, but with lights and camera on Miss Temple no one – certainly not the Republican organization – seems to have heard of him. He has issued a closely reasoned position paper on the war running to several thousand words. It criticizes his opponents for vague win-the-war statements that might be used to justify use of nuclear weapons, increased conventional bombing or the risk of hundreds of thousands of additional casualties in order to occupy more of Vietnam. To McCloskey the price is too high. His alternative to this and Shirley Temple is gradual termination of American military involvement. He wants negotiations with Hanoi leading to reunification of Vietnam under one government, even if it should be a communist. To facilitate negotiations he would deescalate the war now. If the Administration refused to go for this he would favor as an alternative disengaging our forces over a maximum two-year period and offering refuge to South Vietnamese who have reason to fear the retribution of Hanoi and the Viet Cong.

McCloskey's presence in the race makes it a kind of referendum on the war, with portents for 1968.

Democratic Solidarity

Political parties don't prosper on disloyalty. Some policing of the troops, some penalties for desertion are necessary. It was not unexpected therefore, when the Democratic National Committee in effect reaffirmed a loyalty rule for its four-day convention in Chicago next year that has been in effect since 1956. That rule says that the seating of delegates can be challenged before the credentials committee upon evidence that they do not intend to support the convention's choice. Another proposal, to require a preconvention "loyalty oath" from all delegates, was rejected. Significantly, the latter was put forward by Eugene L. Wyman, the California committeeman, in whose state the Democratic rank and file is noticeably reluctant to again go all the way with LBJ.

Reaffirmation of the old ruling should put a damper on exaggerated fears expressed in Washington of the splintering effects of a bruising convention battle for the presidential nomination. The Democratic Party will not fly apart if someone other than Lyndon Johnson is its nominee. Delegates to Chicago will be expected to support the convention's decision, whether that decision is for or against Lyndon Johnson. In taking the position that party unity must prevail after the nominating battle is over, and irrespective of candidate, the National Committee has acted prudently, bearing in mind last week's Gallup Poll showing noncandidate Rockefeller (with Reagan at his side) leading a Johnson-Humphrey ticket by 57 percent to 43 percent – about the gap that separated Eisenhower and Stevenson in 1956. Faltering, nondeclared candidate George Romney (again allied with Reagan) is running a 49-47 favorite over Johnson-Humphrey.

Consent or Starve

A year ago, the District Court for the District of Columbia denied a request by two welfare mothers for declaratory and injunctive relief against what they alleged to be unreasonable searches, harassing surveillance and eavesdropping by personnel from the Office of Investigations and Collections, Department of Public Welfare. Last June, the US Court of Appeals held that the appellants had failed to exhaust available administrative remedies, and ordered the issues to be developed fully in a hearing before officials of the department. (See Cloward and Piven, "We've Got Rights," *The New Republic*, August 5.) Hearings began on October 5. The plaintiffs, Patricia Smith and Doris Crowder, are represented by Peter Smith and Laurens Silver, attorneys with an OEO Neighborhood Legal Service Project.

The chief issue – and it is national, not confined to the District of Columbia – arises from "home visits" by departmental investigators and caseworkers who never trouble to obtain search warrants. These visits are frequently intended to catch men – usually unemployed – who may be hovering about. The department claims that it secures oral consent before entering homes, and that appears to be so. Indeed, departmental regulations further admonish investigators not to "open closets or bureau drawers. They . . . [must] . . . request the client to open the closet." Furthermore, investigators may "not look under beds unless there is obviously someone hidden there who refuses to come out." But if departmental personnel rarely deviate from these regulations, it is because recipients always let them in and do whatever they are asked.

The complainants allege, however, that their consent is not freely given; to refuse entry, they say, is to risk being cut off the rolls. Arguing that their rights are being violated under the Fourth Amendment, the plaintiffs cite federal court rulings that consent must be "understanding and intentioned," not mere "submission to authority"; it must be "freely and intelligently given" – especially when the person "may never

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have heard of the Fourth Amendment." And in a recent "midnight raid" case in California, the court recognized the extent to which the economic survival of recipients depends upon the continued goodwill of the welfare department, ruling that "the threat of the sanctions necessarily implicit in a request for entry under such circumstances vitiated the apparent consent which the searchers sought to secure from the occupants."

The threat of sanctions is hardly implicit. As if to help the plaintiffs prove it after a year of unsuccessful litigation, the department has just promulgated a new regulation stating that if a recipient persists in refusing entry, "his assistance payment will be terminated."

The current administrative hearing got under way with a middle-range departmental official acting as hearing officer. Attorneys for the plaintiffs insisted that an expert witness be permitted to remain in the room following his testimony, along with seven observers. The department wanted the hearings to be as secret as possible, having already barred the press. The matter was resolved after numerous private conferences between top departmental officials and the hearing officer (who, one imagines, lectured his superiors on the elements of due process), and the plaintiffs got most of what they had requested.

The high point of the first day's proceedings was testimony by a private attorney appearing for the plaintiffs. He had formerly been, it turned out, a senior member of the department's investigatory staff for eight years. Although a transcript is not yet available, a rough summary of portions of his testimony reads:

Q: How often were you refused admission to a recipient's home?

A: Very, very seldom. Less than one percent.

Q: After identifying yourself and requesting permission to inspect the recipient's home, did you ever say that he or she had the right to refuse entry?

A: Never.

Q: Why not?

A: It was always my understanding that they had to open up their premises to inspection if they wanted welfare.

Q: What did you do then?

A: My partner and I then went through the house as fast as possible. (Investigators always work in pairs.)

Q: How long did that usually take?

A: Five to seven minutes.

Q: Why did you hurry so?

A: The object was to go as far as you could before the client objected. Usually we'd split up. One of us would keep the client busy talking and the other would move quickly through the rooms and closets.

Q: What if the client objected?

A: Then we'd leave. That's why we . . . move fast.

Q: Were there any other techniques you used?

A: Yes, we sometimes split up before entering a house, one of us going to the front door and the other to the back.

Q: Why was that?

A: If there was a man in the house, he'd leave by any means available – windows, fire escape, or out the back door.

Before the hearings are concluded, more than a dozen recipients will have testified that their consent is not freely given. Expert witnesses will back them up, asserting that welfare recipients are at the mercy of welfare departments and have no choice but to acquiesce to any demand. Then the hearing officer will transmit his findings and recommendations to his superiors for a decision on the question of whether the constitutional rights of recipients are being denied. Foreseeing an unfavorable decision, the plaintiffs are already considering a new round of appeals in the courts. Their case will be developed from a hearing transcript running into hundreds of pages, but it is summed up in one terse sentence. When asked why she always let investigators without warrants search her home, a mother said: "I've got my children to feed."

Why Reagan's Mad

Governor Reagan is out to do in the California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA), the largest legal aid program for the poor in the nation. The Governor holds as a matter of general philosophy that taxpayers' funds should not be used by one government agency to attack another, which as he says results in a "strange spectacle." The CRLA is financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and daily confronts the welfare system as it is laid on the poor through local, state and federal agencies. If applied generally, the Reagan philosophy will deny any public funds to defend poor men in the courts (thus more money for bigger jails).

But philosophy isn't what is at issue here. CRLA has dogged Reagan and stopped a couple of his attempts to cut back welfare payments and medical aid to the poor, and the lawyers have fought hard to keep braceros out where the growers (and the Governor) wanted the cheap Mexican labor in.

CRLA gets $1.5 million a year, maintains a staff of 30 lawyers, and has handled some 4,600 cases in 15 months. It is generally considered the most vigorous legal aid scheme going, and has been controversial in only three main instances. In one case, CRLA lawyers represented poor clients who sought to keep Reagan from slashing the state Medi-Cal program. The intended cuts would have prevented people who couldn't pay from having nonemergency operations, and deny them care for their teeth, hearing and eyes. A state

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judge permanently enjoined the Governor from making the cuts, and the issue will be argued before the state supreme court in November. This made Reagan furious. Then CRLA went after the US Labor Department, which on two days' notice said it would grant the California growers permission to import 8,100 braceros from Mexico. This gave the growers a cheap source of labor, and helped to undercut the organizing activities of Cesar Chavez' farm workers union, which has been struggling to get Mexican Americans a living wage and decent working conditions. The growers said the crops would rot on the ground without imported bracero labor, but CRLA introduced hiring sheets which showed that the growers were able to get all the workers they needed from the California labor pool. Subsequent to the Labor Department's granting permission to use braceros, 6,000 have been brought in. CRLA settled this issue out of court when it got the Labor Department to promise in writing that it will enforce its present standing labor rules. (CRLA has maintained that not only are enough US citizens available for picking, but that the growers have not been meeting sanitary regulations and have tried to get around paying the required minimum wage of $1.60 an hour.)

Finally, Reagan was proud of his administration's welfare cost cutting in Sutter County. Here by ingeniously denying poor people welfare support, local officials had saved the state $200,000. CRLA lawyers went after the Sutter County welfare people, and to defend itself, the county had to lay on a $35-an-hour lawyer. In the 10 cases which have come down from the courts in this matter, CRLA has won all of them. And even the state welfare director, John Montgomery, Reagan's appointee, suggested that the Governor was wrong about Sutter County. Montgomery said county officials were not acting "in accordance with the law."

Thus far CRLA has been supported by advisory panels at OEO, but the Governor apparently is going to veto the program when it comes up for refunding in December. OEO can override the veto, but politically this may be difficult for Shriver to do since California's Senator Murphy wants to dump the program, and Congressman Sisk from the farm lands of Fresno is rumbling against CRLA. Mr. Sisk sits on the important House Rules Committee. CRLA will have to muster a strong national lobby soon, or it may go down the drain. This would be a pity, both because the California program is a good one, and because the OEO legal assistance programs ought to be going after government welfare agencies just as vigorously all over the country. One of the modest reasons for starting the poverty program in the beginning was the hope that it could reform the welfare system; in general this hasn't worked out very well, but the legal assistance schemes show a great deal of promise.

Countdown on Noyd

Air Force Captain Dale Noyd last spring became the first American to attempt a civil court test of the constitutionality of selective conscientious objection – refusal to serve in a specific war, the war in Vietnam. A US District Court, the US 10th Circuit Court of Appeals, and a Justice of the Supreme Court refused to consider the issue, leaving it to Captain Noyd and the Air Force. Noyd has thus far gone where the Air Force has sent him and followed orders, though reluctantly. No formal disciplinary action has been taken against him. He is now taking F-100 recurrency training, a refresher pilot training and instructor course at Cannon Air Force Base in Clovis, New Mexico, the cost of which runs about $1,420 per hour, or $64,000 per pilot for the full course. When he has completed the training, in about a week, he may be assigned either as an instructor of pilots intended for Vietnam duty or as a pilot himself. He has repeatedly said he will refuse either assignment.

It would be less awkward and expensive for everyone concerned if the Air Force found it possible to assign Noyd to duties his conscience could live with. A highly publicized court-martial would trigger new anti-war demonstrations. The case could provide a legal precedent for the concept of selective conscientious objection. But the Air Force takes the view that allowing men to file suit whenever they wish to avoid following orders they don't agree with would undermine the whole military system – a logical view but not of much practical help in deciding how to deal prudently with this particular case.

Dale Noyd entered active duty in September 1955 with an Air Force ROTC commission. From 1957 to 1960 he flew the F-100 with NATO in England. In 1960 he enrolled in a master's degree program in psychology at the University of Michigan, and within three years had obtained his degree and finished course work for a PhD. It was this educational program, paid for by the Air Force, that extended Noyd's service obligation. He will not now be eligible to resign his commission until June 18, 1969. Had the prospect of going to Vietnam not arisen, Noyd might still be teaching psychology as an assistant professor at the Air Force Academy, a reasonably contented member of the Air Force. His change of assignment changed everything.

It will not help Noyd's case that he found it possible to serve the Air Force at a time when each cog in some way helps to keep the machinery of war in Vietnam turning over. It will seem to some that concern for his own life rather than conviction about taking the lives of others is the operating variable. Noyd recognizes that by merely paying taxes, all Americans are com-

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plicit in the war, but says one must choose where to draw the line as a participant. Teaching psychology in the Rockies and piloting a plane bombing North Vietnam are not, he believes, morally equivalent acts. Noyd is not opposed to "just" wars, but he will not fight in Vietnam. When he learned he would be reassigned to pilot training he filed an application for conscientious objector status and submitted a letter of resignation from the Air Force. Both were rejected.

With the aid of the ACLU and a New York attorney, Marvin Karpatkin, Noyd then filed suit in the US District Court in Denver, which ruled April 25 that Noyd would have to run his case through military channels, not civilian courts. The judge, William E. Doyle, had a personal opinion: "He [Noyd] has enjoyed its benefits [of the Air Force] and it is not unreasonable to require him to face its burdens." The merits of the case had not been considered, nor the validity of Noyd's c.o. status. The court simply did not have jurisdiction. Subsequently Noyd got a temporary injunction from the US 10th Circuit Court of Appeals restraining the Air Force from giving him Vietnam-related duty. The captain was moved from Colorado to Clovis, New Mexico, where he was assigned temporary duty as a housing officer. But the injunction was withdrawn when the appeals court, too, decided it did not have jurisdiction and when Supreme Court Justice Byron White refused to intervene.

Noyd has been taking the F-100 training (he has no objection to flying the aircraft noncombatively) but he will go no further. He has again applied for conscientious objector status, asked to be removed from flying status and the F-100 program. He resubmitted his c. o. application in order to permit the Air Force to consider the testimony given on his behalf at the court hearing in Denver. To his surprise both the chaplain and his base commander at Clovis recommended that his application be approved. However, it was denied – without explanation – and he was ordered to begin F-100 recurrency training. The Air Force in Washington acknowledges that his c. o. application has been rejected, but it has refused to disclose the recommendation of the chaplain, the base commander, or the grounds for rejection.

An Air Force information officer, James Newton, says that "because of the sensitivity of the case they [the Air Force] are playing it by ear." No final decision about Noyd's assignment following completion of his pilot training has been made, nor has the Air Force made up its mind how it intends to handle any refusal by Noyd to accept a future assignment.

Last week Captain Noyd's attorney filed a new appeal with the Supreme Court, alleging his client has been unconstitutionally denied his rightful status as a selective conscientious objector.

David Sanford

Marijuana:

It's Up to the Young To Solve the Problem

by Charles E. Wyzanski Jr.

The following communication was addressed to the Harvard Crimson, *which published it, by* Judge Wyzanski – *a former lecturer in government at Harvard College and visiting professor at MIT. He served as law secretary to the late Learned Hand, special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, and on the staff of the Solicitor General in the Department of Justice. He is now Chief Judge of the US District Court (Massachusetts).*

Wholly in my private capacity as a Harvard alumnus, I write to urge that the leaders of undergraduate opinion at Harvard organize effectively to deal with what is commonly known as the marijuana problem.

At the outset, let me declare that I am confident that in many respects the public exaggerates the evils associated with the use of marijuana. Occasional use, considered strictly from a health standpoint, apart from social consequences, has not been demonstrated to be deleterious. One may assume (although this has not been clearly proved) that the physical welfare of an individual is at least as gravely prejudiced by occasional use of alcohol and constant use of cigarette tobacco as by episodic use of marijuana. However, if consideration for the moment be confined only to the physical consequences of marijuana (apart from all social and legal implications) it must be recognized that constant and large dosage of marijuana is debilitating, reduces energy and motivation, and promotes dependence on others rather than vigorous participation in the social order.

Whether the use of marijuana has a physical connection with the use of other drugs such as heroin, cocaine and LSD is beyond present proof. Undoubtedly, those who are willing to experiment with marijuana have a disposition which would lead them in many cases to experiment with more dangerous drugs. Also the purchase of marijuana often brings one in contact with sellers of

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more dangerous products who, either through ordinary commercial exploitation or through subtle blackmailing pressure, induce customers to acquire new types of dangerous drugs which they have not previously had. Some of these more dangerous drugs are addictive and not a few of them have been demonstrated to have done grave injury to the persons using them, in some cases to their offspring, and in some cases to third persons who are in the area where the users drive automobiles or otherwise are in control of instrumentalities capable of inflicting harm.

Many of the arguments which are presented against marijuana are specious. It is, of course, absurd to argue that because most users of heroin first used marijuana, marijuana is proven to be a usual preliminary step to heroin addiction. One might as well say that because most users of heroin once imbibed milk, milk leads to heroin addiction. The true inquiry is what percentage of marijuana users become heroin addicts, and as to that we seem to have no reliable information.

Undoubtedly for those who use marijuana so frequently and so excessively as to become social derelicts, society pays a large cost. In the first place, these unfortunates use either private or public resources for their medical and social care. In the second place, and of greater consequence, our relatively limited medical, hospital and welfare personnel and facilities used for those victims of marijuana are unavailable for others whose illness or poverty is more deserving of our compassion. The social balance sheet bears charges which ought not to be in the reckoning.

From the foregoing facts, it does appear that the marijuana problem is of social and not merely of private consequence. J. S. Mill to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no such thing as a vice which is purely private in its total aspect. He who overindulges in any way with respect to drugs, with respect to food, with respect to liquor, with respect to sensuality, alters the lives of others than himself and his private associates. He is unavailable for civic obligation which rests upon him. He bears a responsibility for the unavailability of social and medical services gravely needed by others.

Yet against the impressive considerations just stated, one must weigh – and in my opinion weigh more heavily – the social costs of trying to limit by law private indulgence in vice. Every attempt of the law to detect, prosecute and punish wrong represents an expenditure not merely of time, effort, manpower and money, but also a concession to the forces of coercion as distinguished from persuasion. Moreover, law enforcement in the area of what some regard as private morality and private consumption almost inevitably entails the use of despicable or, at any rate, unworthy enforcement measures. Informers, undercover operators, blackmailers, and often corrupt enforcement authorities have opportunities far more dangerous than in the suppression of conventional types of crime.

In the end, liberty tends to be sacrificed for the supposedly greater advantage of health, safety and morals. To some, including myself, the sacrifice is inconsistent with our ultimate political beliefs.

For these reasons, it would seem to me highly desirable if the legislative authorities, national and local, were to revise the present laws with respect to marijuana, with their Draconian penalties. But I recognize that, as Charles Morgan phrased it, "Liberty is the room created by surrounding walls." And it is for the legislature to draw the lines of what is to be permitted as an open area of choice and what is to be prohibited as a social evil. So long as the legislature outlaws the possession of marijuana, the use of the drug, even in moderation, is fraught with the gravest personal risks.

Only the foolhardy would find the pleasure of marijuana outweighing the pain of prolonged imprisonment. The consequence now provided under acts of Congress for possession and, more particularly, for what is denominated smuggling (but which in fact means possession coupled with a jury inference that the marijuana was imported and known by the person to have been imported) should deter any thoughtful person.

In this review I have as yet not addressed myself to what is the most difficult aspect of the marijuana problem. For reasons which need not detain me, the use of marijuana has become a symbol of revolt by the young against their established elders. It has in many places taken a symbolic importance, particularly because those of my generation so deplore its use and are themselves so unwilling to discriminate between that which is inherently evil in marijuana and that which is not proved to be evil but merely undesirable.

The only way in which, so far as I see, the marijuana problem can be effectively dealt with, is by an intelligent, candid, courageous program originating in and furthered by the young. It is the peers of the users of marijuana who will have to find a solution for the problem.

What seems to me required is that, acting on their own initiative, leaders of undergraduate opinion and leaders of the same age but not from academic cloisters should carefully consider in their own forums and through their own organizations and through specially created mediums of expression and forms of association a policy and a plan for its execution.

Constructive idealism is the badge of youth. Society renews itself from the oncoming generation. Liberty and order rest more upon the harnessing of adventurous insights than on a mere repetition of ancient patterns.

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Hidden Hands in Publishing

by David Wise

It is rather remarkable that there was so relatively little public indignation when it came to be known earlier this year that for a decade, the United States Information Agency has secretly paid publishers and authors to produce books sold not only overseas but in this country as well, bearing no government label whatsoever. And it's more remarkable that it's still going on. First, a bit of history.

The government has poured more than a million dollars into clandestine literary endeavor since the USIA program was launched in 1956. Some of the $1,027,899 was spent on the production of simplified books in English confined to distribution overseas, but the bulk of the money – $570,850 of it – went for the subsidization of US publishers through the purchase of books "that would not be written or published for the commercial market without Agency encouragement."

In all, 104 titles were subsidized this way. Another $183,905 was used directly to commission authors or publishers to produce 46 manuscripts, much in the manner of a short order cook whipping up intellectual cheeseburgers. (USIA will reveal the titles of only seven of these tomes; why the names of some have been disclosed and others not is a mystery to which only USIA, presumably, holds the answer.) Although it is said that these books were produced primarily for distribution overseas, in virtually every instance they were also sold by their commercial publishers in bookstores in the US, without attribution as government merchandise.

Although many publishers have lined up to take advantage of this covert largesse, one, Frederick A. Praeger, has been particularly enthusiastic in producing under-the-table books for the government. In 1966, for example, Praeger published *Why Viet Nam?* by Frank N. Trager, an apologia for US policy in Vietnam. The jacket blurb sets the tone: "Professor Trager's account of the struggle that has torn Viet Nam apart offers compelling reasons for that [US] involvement and shows why the United States commitment – a commitment of three Presidents – must still stand. It also seeks to show why, after a succession of unstable governments, the administration of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky offers new hope for a secure and free South Viet Nam." Nowhere is it indicated that USIA had any hand in financing the book.

Congressional records show that USIA paid Trager $2,500 to write the manuscript and then purchased 2,000 copies of the book from Praeger at a cost of $5,750. Altogether, the team of Praeger and Trager got $8,250 from USIA, this aside from royalties produced by sales to unsuspecting readers in the US. (In July of 1967, *Why Viet Nam?* showed up on *Newsweek*'s list of recommended titles on the war.)

The USIA calls its venture into covert publishing the "book development" program, a euphemism that was publicly defined three years ago by Reed Harris, the USIA official then, but no longer, in charge of it. In testimony to the Rooney subcommittee of the House in March of 1964, Harris said: "That is a program under which we can have books written to our own specifications, books that would not otherwise be put out, especially those books that have strong anti-communist content, and follow other themes that are particularly useful for our purposes. Under the book development program, we control the thing from the very idea down to the final edited manuscript."

The words sounded odd coming from Harris, a McCarthy victim who in 1953 had courageously defied the Wisconsin senator; he resigned his government job at the time but was summoned back to USIA by Edward R. Murrow when sanity returned eight years later.

Harris at first declined to reveal to the Rooney subcommittee the titles of the books developed by USIA. His subordinate, Louis A. Fanget, did volunteer that "we try to reach outside commercial writers who have stature in the literary world, we try to get them to do books. This results in greater credibility, sir."

Harris finally mentioned several subsidized titles, but his testimony was heavily exorcised, apparently so that the taxpayers would not be endangered by learning which books they had unwittingly financed with their dollars, and perhaps in some instances, purchased for the second time in their bookstores.

Subsequently, Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb, the very conservative Los Angeles Republican and a member of the subcommittee, asked the then US Comptroller General, Joseph Campbell, to rule on whether the book development program was legal. Campbell reported back carefully that the program was not "improper" under the law. He also mentioned that the contracts between USIA and the publishers specifically provided

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MR. WISE *was the chief of the Washington Bureau of* The New York Herald Tribune *and, with Thomas B. Ross is the author of a forthcoming book on* The Espionage Establishment.

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that the government's role be kept secret.

Although Campbell did not quote from the USIA's classified contracts with New York publishers, the actual language of the still-secret documents is instructive. One contract dated November 30, 1956, for example, contains this clause: ". . . Publication shall be without attribution to the Agency. . . . The contractor will not issue . . . publicity or information in any form regarding this contract *or the fact of the government's connection with the subject book.*" (Italics provided.)

Subsequent contracts between USIA and commerical book publishers under the program contain substantially the same language, designed to make certain that the hand of the government remained hidden, a contractual caveat against gossip in a gossipy industry.

Carl Rowan, who succeeded Murrow as USIA director, was sufficiently wary after the Harris testimony to order in 1964 that no more manuscripts be commissioned without his approval. Then, in September of 1966, Rowan's successor, Leonard Marks, appeared before the Rooney subcommittee and was asked why it was wrong "to let the American people know when they buy and read the book that it was developed under government sponsorship?"

"It minimizes their value," Marks replied.

For the first time, the USIA director put the titles of three commissioned and 12 subsidized books into the record. The books written-to-order included *The Truth About The Dominican Republic* by *Time* magazine correspondent Jay Mallin. (It appeared under the title *Caribbean Crisis: Subversion Fails in the Dominican Republic* when published by Doubleday in 1966.)

When Marks next testified in March of this year, however, he said that way back in October of 1965 he, too, had stopped the commissioning of manuscripts "without my specific approval," a point he had neglected to mention when he testified in favor of the program six months earlier.

Despite all the orders to end the program, somehow four more books seemed to have slipped through the bureaucratic net. In fiscal 1966, Marks testified, USIA had – in addition to the Trager book – commissioned *Terror in Vietnam*, another Jay Mallin work, published by D. Van Nostrand (for which Mallin got $4,946 from USIA), and two more Praeger volumes.

During Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings this past March, Chairman J. William Fulbright declared of the book development hocus-pocus: "I would never have dreamed . . . that you would do it covertly. That seems to me most objectionable." The program may have been more covert than Fulbright realized, for there is strong evidence that some of the money channeled to writers and publishers by USIA may actually have come from the CIA. (Praeger has admitted publicly to publishing "15 or 16" books at CIA's behest.)

A few years ago, $16,500 was paid by the government to *The New Leader* to compile a book, published in 1963 by Farrar, Straus, and entitled *The Strategy of Deception: A study in worldwide Communist tactics.* It was a complex deal under which USIA contracted with the tax-exempt American Labor Conference on International Affairs Inc., which publishes *The New Leader*, which in turn hired Jeane J. Kirkpatrick to edit the book, a collection of essays. Mrs. Kirkpatrick is the wife of Evron M. Kirkpatrick, a former intelligence official and director of the American Political Science Association and of something called Operations and Policy Research, which has received funds both from USIA and from two foundations revealed as CIA conduits. *The New Leader* contracted with Farrar, Straus, which then published *Strategy of Deception.* USIA has testified that 25,000 copies were printed "for sale in this country," a figure that Roger W. Straus, president of Farrar, Straus disputes as high. What is not disputed by anyone is that the book became a Book of the Month Club alternate selection and was sold in the US in bookstores, without any indication the government had paid for it. As far as public records show, the money came from USIA, but administrators of the book program were under the definite impression that *The New Leader's* funds originated in what is known, delicately, as "the other Agency."

As matters stand today, two directors of USIA have each claimed credit for curbing the same book program. "I do not intend to carry out any further book development program, such as I have described," Leonard Marks told Representative Rooney on March 15, 1967. But the USIA budget request provides, under the heading "Book Development," for an expenditure of $51,450 for fiscal '67-'68, of which $28,000 is for "publication support for four book titles." And an internal memorandum from Marks to the staff dated June 9, 1967 still allows books to be commissioned "under exceptional circumstances where commercial publishing companies are not capable of meeting Agency demands." The all-important subsidies roll on: "The Agency will contract with book publishers to purchase specific numbers of copies of uniquely useful . . . books . . . prior to actual publication."

For hungry publishers operating on tight profit margins, such a prepublication guarantee comes very close to arranging for a book to be written to order. But to publicize the hand of the government in the continued creation of books, might, in Marks' words, minimize their value. "It is very important, as far as I am concerned," Marks has told the Congress, "that these not be our books."

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Limits of the New Left

by Christopher Jencks

Week before last, I reported on a meeting in Czechoslovakia between 40 Americans and two delegations of Vietnamese revolutionaries. That report concentrated on the Vietnamese side of the dialogue; now I want to say something about the Americans there. The majority were young and came from what is now irrevocably christened the "New Left." Some were active in the antiwar movement, organizing teach-ins, writing, helping set up protest groups and fomenting draft resistance. Others were working with poor whites and blacks on grievances only obliquely related to the war; they knew relatively little about Vietnam when they arrived in Bratislava. But they all saw the war as an inevitable by-product of some ill-defined sickness in the American system, which could only be cured by radical political remedies. They were contemptuous of liberals who regard the war as a colossal blunder and who think that when the war is over America will get on with rehabilitating a flawed but redeemable society. For this reason almost all the young radicals at Bratislava were slightly scornful of the traditional "peace movement," which they regard as ideologically naïve and politically ineffective. They had little in common with the clergymen and pacifists from the pre-Vietnam peace movement who were also in Bratislava, except distaste for the war.

To me, the most striking fact about the young radicals was the extent to which they identified with the Viet Cong. This identification was almost entirely confined to people born after the outbreak of World War II. I myself am only a few years older, have been bitterly critical of the war and support the National Liberation Front in the limited sense that I would rather let it take power than continue either the war or the present Thieu-Ky regime. Yet I do not feel instinctively allied to the NLF, and I know hardly anyone else my age who does. Indeed, I would say that inability to identify with the Viet Cong is one of the obvious differences between the generation which came to political consciousness under Eisenhower, as I did, and the generation which worked out its political position under John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, as the young radicals at Bratislava had.

This New Left sympathy for the NLF is not based on any similarity of style or of temperament. The Vietnamese revolutionaries we met were not the joyless communist *aparachiks* whom the Soviet Union would send to such a meeting, but they were dignified, restrained, disciplined and apparently selfless – about as unlike the loose-tongued, anarchistic, spontaneous Americans as any group could conceivably be. It was easy to respect their courage and patience under incredibly difficult conditions, and to find them personally charming, but it would not be very easy for a young American to establish an intimate personal friendship with or psychological understanding of such strangers. Nor do I think most of the Americans at Bratislava would find life in post-revolutionary Vietnam congenial; on the contrary, I suspect most would find themselves in opposition fairly soon. The common bond between the New Left and the NLF is not, then, a common dream or a common experience but a common enemy: the US government, the system, the Establishment. The young radicals' admiration for the NLF stems from the feeling that the NLF is resisting The Enemy successfully, whereas they are not.

Speaking for the older generation at Bratislava, David Dellinger said to the Vietnamese at one point, "You are Vietnamese and you love Vietnam. You must remember that we are Americans and we love America too, even though we oppose our government's policies with all our strength." The young man next to me

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groaned at this expression of patriotic sentiment, and as I looked around the room at other American faces I got the impression that he was not alone in his embarrassment. Certainly he was not alone in his feeling that almost anything non-American was likely to be better than almost anything American.

The historical failures of American radicalism are, I think, linked in important ways to this distaste for American culture and American institutions. One reason why the radical revival of the early 1960's captured the American imagination and achieved modest successes was that it seemed so completely native, so true to the professed high purposes of the Republic. It appealed to the Constitution, to schoolbook stories of what America should be, to injustices which troubled millions of decent citizens.

But the New Left has never numbered patience among its virtues; it soured on America once it became clear that radical change, rather amorphously defined, would be neither quick nor easy. If America could not undo the evil consequences of racism in a few years, then America was hopeless. If America could not restrain its military, if it would not support revolutions in the underdeveloped countries, then America was a positive menace and the primary task of our time was to contain American power. Having begun a few years earlier with great residual faith in the American people, and a conviction that "the people" had strengths from which a new and better society might be built, many of the young radicals moved to the conclusion that Americans as a whole were hopelessly complacent, corrupt and self-centered. This view is not yet universal in the New Left, but it seems to be gaining ground. The result was a dramatic contrast at Bratislava between optimistic, confident Vietnamese and pessimistic, self-deprecating Americans. They sang "We Shall Overcome," but it was a nostalgic tribute to an earlier era, not an expression of confidence in the future.

The central weakness of the New Left, it seems to me, is its attitude toward authority. This came out clearly two years ago when this journal asked a number of young radicals to describe what they thought was wrong with America and what should be done about it. The essays were almost monotonous in their insistence that the people have no voice in decisions which affect their lives; that they are powerless.

That is true, but it is by no means a universal complaint. The toiling masses of Marxist memory still toil, but they do not seem to feel oppressed by the institutions within which they live. On the contrary, most defend these institutions staunchly. If, for example, you ask poor people what is wrong with America, they will usually complain about the *results* of decisions which affect their lives, not the *process* by which the decisions are made. They want good schools or good housing; relatively few of them want a voice in the operation of these facilities if the results are satisfactory. The New Left, however, cares more about how a decision gets made than about what the decision is. The Free Speech Movement at Berkeley exemplified this outlook. Very few Berkeley students had any real interest in whether the university allowed political advocacy on its property. But many came to resent the university's making such decisions arbitrarily without consulting anyone, and thousands enjoyed participating in the struggle to alter the rules.

An allergy to paternalism is not unique to the New Left, but young radicals of the kind who went to Bratislava have taken it more seriously than almost anyone in my generation and more seriously than most of their peers. It is this which has driven many into total opposition to the American way of life, which, they say, is largely shaped by big organizations and involves passive dependence on enormous numbers of remote experts, bureaucracies and commercial enterprises. Their opposition has led a growing minority to talk about the need for a revolution in America – though no one has any clear idea who would organize such a revolution, or whom it would bring to power, or how post-revolutionary America would be organized. It is this opposition, too, which has made the young radicals cynical about the anti-communism of their elders, forgetting that many liberal anti-communists were also anti-authoritarian. They are ready to support any sort of attack on the American establishment, even if it is launched by Vietnamese guerrillas with whom the New Left has only the most remote ideological or cultural kinship.

How widespread is this readiness to identify with "the enemy"? The militant, embittered sentiments described above are probably confined to one or two percent of the younger generation. But I think the basic attitudes which lead the activists to sympathy for the Viet Cong are quite general among the young, and that their impact is only beginning to be felt.

These are children of the 1940's, raised in relatively permissive middle-class homes where authority was supposed to be rational rather than arbitrary. Unlike earlier generations of Americans, their parents were reluctant to take advantage of their monopoly on physical, economic and legal power. Their youngsters were free to challenge the legitimacy of parental authority from an early age, by arguing that their parents were not using their power reasonably or wisely. Not only that, but such challenges often succeeded. Even when they failed, the children often curbed their parents' power indirectly by refusing to join in a consensus which defined certain rules as sensible and just. Without such a consensus many parents felt reluctant to impose their will, and in many cases found it impossible even when they tried.

The emphasis on consensus and rationality in these

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young people's upbringing was accompanied by reliance on new forms of discipline. The distinctive feature of a "permissive" home is not that "anything goes." It is that the limits are supposed to be set by the child's internalized sense of what is reasonable and unreasonable. In order to keep up this pretense, overt sanctions and punishments are frowned on. Instead, if the child behaves in what the parents regard as an unreasonable fashion, they retaliate by making the child feel he has hurt them, has let them down. Such a threat was doubtless terrifying to the very young. As they grew older, however, children discovered that they too could use such weapons. Children fear rejection, but so do parents, at least in modern America. A child who acted as if he hated his mother could frequently reduce her to tears. This leads to a system of mutual deterrence, which makes parents hesitate to use their ultimate power and produces an unprecedented equality in relations between the generations.

Such children emerged into the larger society with relatively little experience of authority structures based solely on superior force. Yet this is almost always the ultimate source of authority in large groups and organizations. Confronted with such authority these young people's first reaction was to resort to the tricks they had learned at home. First they tried reason. Racism, they argued, was a violation of the Constitution; the Saigon government was founded on a violation of the Geneva Agreements; and so forth. Such arguments had some success on the racial front, but virtually none on foreign policy. When this tactic failed the young radicals tried withholding love and approval from their elders. This was both the origin and the effect of the protest marches and of civil disobedience – a technique known to all children in all times. Like reason and legalism, emotional confrontations proved moderately effective as weapons against racism. The liberal leaders of the national establishment wanted the young to love and admire them. They did not want to play the tyrannical father and enforce order with a paddle. (Small-town Southern elites came from an older tradition, and felt no more embarrassed by using force against protesters than they did about spanking their children.) Civil disobedience has not yet been tried on a large scale to curb the Vietnam war, but the small efforts to date have not had much effect.

The failure of the techniques learned in permissive, middle-class homes has brought a crisis in America's radical movement. Ghetto Negroes have turned naturally to violence, for they have mostly been raised on it. Young middle-class whites, on the other hand, find violence almost impossible. The radicals must, therefore, either abandon the struggle and retreat into cynicism and privatism or else compete with other adults for control over the apparatus of the state – which means, ultimately, control over the apparatus of violence and coercion. One way to do this might theoretically be violent revolution, but as a practical matter this seems infeasible, undesirable, and an escape from reality. America is not Vietnam. The only real alternative seems to be creating political organizations capable of taking power, first locally and eventually nationally.

Yet it is precisely here that the young radicals' distrust of all authority becomes an apparently insuperable problem. They are allergic to leadership, hierarchy and discipline. They want a movement of small insurgent "cells," organized around mutual trust, equality and respect for every man's individuality. These are appealing values. They are, indeed, my own. But I doubt that they can lead to the creation of political organizations capable of winning and wielding power.

If the children of permissive, middle-class parents are unwilling or unable to participate in established political institutions, or if their distaste and alienation from the whole pattern of American life makes it difficult for them to communicate with a relatively complacent and chauvinistic majority, who *will* exercise power in America? The most likely answer is that power will go by default to conservatives and reactionaries from more traditional backgrounds, who are less allergic to leadership, more willing to submit to the discipline of political organization, readier to make the compromises inherent in the assumption and exercise of power. This seems especially likely if the US fails to suppress the South Vietnamese revolution and withdraws. Any such about-face in Vietnam could produce a right-wing reaction even stronger than the one produced by the collapse of Nationalist China and the stalemate in Korea. The older generation of liberals and radicals showed no great capacity for withstanding such onslaughts in the late 1940's and early 1950's. If the younger generation is also temperamentally incapable of organizing itself so as to withstand a right-wing revival, America may be headed for an era of repression which will make McCarthyism seem relatively innocuous.

This is the second of two articles.

NEXT WEEK: *What ails the United States?– an inquiry by Hans J. Morgenthau*

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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *Prisoners of War*

What is the point of writing fiction about war? The question is unavoidable for any serious author attracted to the subject. The physical horrors have been described realistically ever since the Messenger's report of the Trojan War in *Agamemnon*. The theme of ravished brotherhood has been elaborated at least since the Renaissance, when armies *en bloc* began to be seen as composed of individual men. A new war may be briefly interesting for its new setting and new slang, but after that, what is there left to *say* in war novels?

Victor Kolpacoff, a young American whose first novel is about the Vietnam war,* has faced this question with one paradoxical advantage: he has never been in Vietnam. The biography in his book does not say that he has even been in the armed forces. So he was spared the temptation to disgorge naturalistic detail in an age when we can see a few minutes of the day's battles every night on TV before yawning and turning in. The obvious precedent for Kolpacoff was Stephen Crane, but the comparison highlights the fact that Kolpacoff did face one temptation that Crane was spared: he is a contemporary of the war he is describing, which Crane was not, and he has had to subordinate any immediate programmatic beliefs to art. I do not suggest that *The Prisoners of Quai Dong* is as good as *The Red Badge of Courage*, but like Crane, Kolpacoff has found his own truthful answer to the fundamental question: why write a war novel? His answer seems to be that there is no point in a Vietnam novel if it is a Vietnam novel, if it is only about the immorality of the American actions there. His book is equally applicable to the North Vietnamese, to the French in Algeria and the Algerians in Algeria, to the British in Palestine and also to the Irgun, and so on. This is not to say that every war is pointless but that the day-to-day conduct of a war has nothing to do with the reasons for which it is fought; that this daily pragmatism, an ancient fact, runs harshly counter to a consciousness of the individual, a newer phenomenon; and that part of this last is a combination of heightened moral sense with heightened despair about implementing it. This is the new universal brotherhood that simultaneously binds and divides. Kolpacoff's novel could as well be called *The Prisoners of Planet Earth*.

He has a clear and burning vision of what he wants to do; that is his prime strength. His literary gifts – one might properly say his other literary gifts – are lesser, though extraordinary. The structure of the novel is simple, and therefore carefully designed. The artifice is not concealed: it is formal, innocent, classic. There is a purity in the form that perfectly fits the basic purpose of the book.

The protagonist is Kreuger, an American ex-lieutenant who has been busted and sent to a military stockade in Vietnam because he refused to lead his men into a butchering attack. Life in the stockade is both harsh and tedious. One day Kreuger is summoned to a large shed that is part of the nearby US camp. He is to be present at the interrogation of a 17-year-old suspected guerrilla. There is a Vietnamese interpreter present, but Kreuger knows two thousand words of Vietnamese, and Buckley, the lieutenant in charge of this affair, wants a check.

The interrogation goes on for a day and a night. The prisoner is tortured – subtly, at first – then beaten. His resistance is matched by Buckley's intent to rout out the band that has been murdering Americans and also by Buckley's desire to look good to his superiors. The prisoner keeps repeating, in the face of some evidence, that he is not a guerrilla and cannot give them the information they want. He dies (suicide when they leave him alone a moment) without telling them anything else. We never know whether he was a close-mouthed guerrilla or, as he claims, an accidental victim of some circumstances; whether his final contempt is patriotic defiance or sheer moral superiority.

At the end of the book Kreuger rejoins the Army, literally and figuratively. Buckley has promised him reinstatement if he "cracks" the prisoner. Kreuger invents some information, then plans to expose how he has tricked Buckley into leading a pointless raid and has made a fool of the officer. But Buckley's raid has the minimal effect that almost any raid on any Vietnam village must have in flushing out opposition, so Kreuger decides to play it cool. He is reinstated as a lieutenant, stops being a prisoner in the stockade and becomes once again a prisoner of the conventions of power.

Pattern is what this swift, short book lives by. The cast of characters is conventional. A Negro is included, and a sadistic sergeant. Actions are foreseeable. We know that the moment will come when the Vietnamese interrogator-torturer will turn, will protect the Vietnamese victim against the outsider. Often the transparency of a book's pattern makes it quickly boring; here the transparency is illuminating. We know, in the main, what is going to happen, but a certain and crystalline intent in the work keeps us fixed, makes us feel we are watching a tribal ritual, predictable but involving. At one point Kreuger thinks:

> "Only when a man had watched the interrogation for a day and a half did he realize that the simple act of watching made him a part of it. Even if you did not struggle on either side, you sank into the guilt of it, like quicksand."

This is hardly a new insight. But the book's achievement is precisely this: although it offers no new insights on its subject (as did Koestler and Malraux and Silone), it is so austerely and incisively pertinent that it need not. Its being is in ritual, not revelation.

Yet it would be more moving, even as ritual, if two elements were better: the prose itself and the characterizations. Much of the writing is without distinction, as the above suggests. The book is best when (most of the time)

(Continued on page 40)

* *The Prisoners of Quai Dong* by Victor Kolpacoff (New American Library; $4.95)

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When Will RFK Surface?

by Paul R. Wieck

One man who, in the months ahead, could bend into focus the waves of discontent emanating from within the Democratic Party and thus pose a serious challenge to the renomination of President Johnson is Robert F. Kennedy. Consistently, over the last two years, he has placed himself just far enough to the left of President Johnson on major policy matters to allow the public to differentiate between the two men. At the grass roots, where the voices of protest are so often anonymous, his presence sparks a genuine response unmatched by that of any other potential contender. The polls, in the fall of 1967, show he has again moved ahead of Mr. Johnson as the favorite of Democratic voters, a development unparalleled in contemporary American politics. With no public encouragement from any figure of national political stature, the Draft-Kennedy movement is mushrooming across the country. (It counted 7,200 members in late September.) Indeed, one of the favorite guessing games of the last two years has been whether Sen. Kennedy will ever actively seek the nomination in Chicago in 1968.

The Heir Apparent
Robert Kennedy
and the Struggle for Power
by William V. Shannon
(Macmillan; $5.95)

William Shannon does not try to answer that question in his book, one of the first of a rash of manuscripts dealing with Sen. Kennedy to be published. He contents himself with establishing what the title implies – that Robert Kennedy is, as far as his family and its circle is concerned, the "heir apparent" to his late brother.

He does give us some clues drawn from New York politics since the summer of 1964, plus some insights into how Kennedy views his life in the United States Senate (with impatience).

One of the major criticisms leveled at President Johnson is his failure to understand the Democratic Party not only in the great metropolitan centers of the East but also in the vast stretches of the Midwest and West. Once in the White House, Mr. Johnson seemed intent on applying the formula he and his friends used with such great success in Texas over several decades (a shifting consensus firmly rooted in the middle) to a national party whose components are quite different. It is dangerous, in the North and West, for a Democrat to try to move both ways from the center. To the right of center, that Democrat finds millions of voters rooted in a traditional Republicanism, and they're going to stay rooted – unlike Texas, where the Democratic Party is still the traditional home of the vast bulk of voters from the Birchers on the ultra-right to the antiwar "liberals" on the left). In courting too far the right of center (the conservative elements of the business community, for instance), the Democrats run the danger of losing the party's traditional liberal base while not making sufficient headway on the right to compensate. That error, in fact, has been made many times from New York to California and points between but, prior to LBJ, always on a state level. Now it is happening to the Democratic Party nationally.

Whether intuitively or by design, Senator Kennedy has taken full advantage of this in building his own power base. Shannon puts it this way:

> "But it is impossible to determine definitively where honest growth ends and alert opportunism begins in this process of change. He [Kennedy] is an astute politician who recognizes that he has no place to go for additional support for the Presidency except to the left."

There, he has found a rich lode. Youth, unable to forgive President Johnson for replacing the style of a "Golden Age" with his Texas cronies, waited to be led out of the wilderness. Growing numbers of middle-class intellectuals, numerically insignificant but politically potent in the Democratic Party in hundreds of towns and cities, were growing restless over the nation's commitment in Vietnam, over the image they see in the White House, over the gradual deterioration of morale in their party. Meanwhile, the civil rights movement reached a new phase – one that rejected the paternalism that is implicit in Texas-style politics.

Thus the stage has been set.

Will the curtain ever go up? Shannon apparently thinks so, but curtain time might not come in 1968, to the chagrin of millions. In summation, Shannon has this to say:

> "The Presidency if it comes to him is a future chapter in an unfolding story, but whatever the future holds, Robert Kennedy's extraordinary political accomplishment is already secure. In less than four years after his brother's assassination, he has raised himself to a position of independent political power. He is not only a leading contender for his party's presidential nomination; he has made himself its inevitable choice."

But the inevitability of RFK is not the question in the fall of 1967. Today, the question is the inevitability of LBJ as the Democratic nominee next year and what, if any, role RFK might play in reducing these odds, perhaps at some

COMING

Rosencrantz and Guildenstern

Robert Brustein's review

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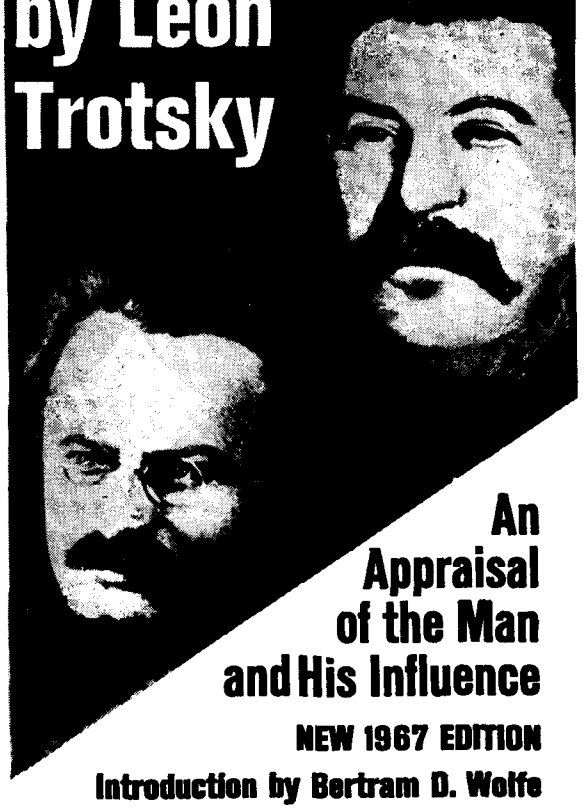
STALIN

by Leon Trotsky



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sacrifice to himself. Shannon's account of RFK as the "Absentee Prince" of New York politics since 1964 is not comforting to those looking for an active candidate around whom they can rally now. It is a record of disinvolvement (with one major exception) in an age of involvement. The exception is the Silverman-Klein surrogate primary in the summer of 1966. Shannon's account of how RFK was drawn into that race (according to Shannon, he was shown a copy of James Wechsler's column reciting Klein's association by proximity with underworld elements over 20 years earlier) doesn't leave room for even false hopes. One can only conclude, if this is typical, that the sole way RFK could be drawn into a race against LBJ in 1968 would be to have LBJ bruise Kennedy with something like a presidential pardon for Jimmy Hoffa. Don't count on that.

But a reading of Shannon's account of New York politics tends to substantiate an even more serious charge made against RFK by growing numbers of Democratic politicians in New York, namely: that Kennedy has decided to let what party structure there is in New York crumble so, in due time, he can pick up the pieces and rearrange them to suit himself without interference from any other force. Could that be what he has in mind for the Democratic Party nationally – to be carried out by allowing LBJ to go down to defeat in 1968, leaving only you-know-who to pick up the pieces?

More aptly, it would be the end result rather than the plan. It's just possible Robert Kennedy finds the intense wrangling and factionalism of New York's Democrats hopeless, just as he thinks it would be stupid and, in turn, self defeating to oppose LBJ for the Democratic nomination. RFK may be complex. He may, as Shannon repeatedly suggests, still tend to see things in blacks and whites. He may be impatient. But he isn't stupid. He has always dealt with power where it is, in preference to creating new grass roots bases and, if he ran in 1968 he could be expected to do the same thing again.

From the standpoint of sheer political expediency, Kennedy has one major problem. Today, he is the choice of rank-and-file Democrats and, in par-

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ticular, the youth of the party. But in the structured hierarchy of the Democratic Party, he might find it difficult, if not impossible, to convince the party's power brokers to dump an incumbent, no matter what his ratings in the polls, and substitute himself. If he waits until 1972, the nomination could fall to him almost by default. But what will happen to the millions – and, in particular, the young people – who want him today? Will they wait five years? Can he count on the GOP to nominate and possibly elect a Nixon, whose appeal to Kennedy's new power base would be marginal, at best? The GOP has a history of such choices. But, in 1968, with the scent of victory in the air, perhaps not. It might be a Nelson Rockefeller or a Charles Percy and, under the impact of four years of such a man in the White House, a lot of loyalties might be transferred.

RFK has always been plagued by the memories his contemporaries have of his days as the grand inquisitor (Attorney General) and, even before that, as counsel for the Democratic minority on the permanent investigations subcommittee used by the late Sen. Joe McCarthy as the vehicle for his reign of terror in the fifties. But today's youth doesn't remember. Also, it's considered indelicate to start out a conversation with a college student by saying "you don't remember, but . . ." By 1972, this generation that does not remember his earlier indiscretions will constitute a substantial percentage of the voting population. But it may be too late. This he must weigh against the fact that the political climate, outside the party structure itself, is right today.

It is an open secret on Capitol Hill that RFK's personality gets a minus rating most days, both from his colleagues and their staffers. Many find him rude. Others are offended by his references to his late brother. All this is pointed up by the presence of his younger brother, Edward, whose demeanor charms his elders in the "world's most exclusive club." I am reminded of a typical example from the 1966 campaign. I asked a veteran senator how a campaign appearance by Ted Kennedy had gone: "Just fine. A very nice young man. He said the nicest things about me. Not at all like his brother, you know." But the huge

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So, we are left with questions unanswered in Shannon's readable book. Suppose the President's popularity in the polls, already low, continues to drop *and he is unable to resolve the country's difficulties in Vietnam in a way* satisfactory to the voters? Suppose the budgetary problems daily made more acute by our involvement in Asia result in huge chunks of the Great Society's programs being put into the deep freeze for the duration at the very time disillusionment is turning to violence in the ghettos? Suppose, in summation, that these many factors synthesize at the polls in primary victories for "Draft Kennedy" slates or peace tickets in places like New Hampshire, the District of Columbia, California, New York City, etc. Would not this bring about re-evaluation by many, including RFK?

At that point, it might not be stupid to oppose LBJ. It might be stupid not to.

Chekhov Among the Convicts

by Clarence Brown

Open a biography of Chekhov near the middle and you find yourself reading about his trip to Sakhalin. He was only 44 when he died, and he made this trip to the convict island off the Pacific coast of Russia just north of Japan when he was thirty. It therefore lies just athwart the middle of his creative lifetime, and those who wish to understand how the light-hearted Antosha Chekhonte, his *nom de plume* for the early comic sketches, became the author of the brooding later stories and of the great plays could do worse than read Chekhov's account (never before translated into English) of his stay on Sakhalin in *The Island*. When he caught sight of it at last – after 82 days of perilous travel from European Russia across the Siberian waste – the effect was more oppressive than even he had imagined. The smoke from unchecked forest fires (themselves enough to sadden the tree planting Dr. Chekhov) hung in a pall over the entrance to the port and half concealed the awful cliff, topped by a lighthouse (with whose red eye, he later writes, penal servitude looks out upon the world) and guarded by three jagged reefs known as "The Three Brothers." He thought it like the entrance to Hell, and the reader soon understands why, for *The Island* is in fact Chekhov's *Inferno*.

The Island
A Journey to Sakhalin
by Anton Chekhov
translated by Luba and Michael Terpak
introduction by Robert Payne
(Washington Square Press; $6.95)

Why he should have interrupted a prodigiously successful career to undertake his own particular Harrowing of Hell has been often debated. The conditions in which the convict colonizers lived, Chekhov had heard, were inhuman. He was, after all, a doctor, was he not? He would go. Friends and editors implored him to come to his senses, and the more they argued, the more ingeniously Chekhov scraped together reasons why he must go – afterthoughts, all of them. It was not of course to write fiction. All that human wretchedness could never be used to answer an author's need for material. Perhaps a report of some kind would result, something medical and statistical. Unlike Chekhov's friends, we require no explanations. He was yielding in his turn to the imperative that strikes every Russian writer at least once with some colossal and furious need to burst out, in one sudden stroke to justify one's existence, to tear everything up and start over, to throw oneself headlong out of a stifling drawing room into a snowbank.

Received by the authorities, Chekhov finds that his letters from various officials back home have their effect (he had feared that the whole trip might end with his being barred from the island): he may go anywhere, talk to anyone except political prisoners, and write what he pleases. He exercises this

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last right with the caution that comes instinctively to Russians when they are within reach of their various governments, but he pursues the others with exhausting zeal. Armed with a questionnaire of his own devising, he conscientiously covers every stinking inch of Sakhalin, where human life is as much brutalized by the weather as by the depravity bred in prisons. He had written parts of the book – whatever he could get from libraries – before coming, but the images that give it life were burned onto Chekhov's own retina: walls covered by a black curtain of swarming insects, the blue lips of the Ainu women, hastily made coffins dropped in graves partly filled with water, the woman in irons who was called "Golden Hand" and, pacing her cell from one corner to the other, seemed to be constantly sniffing the air, like a mouse in a trap.

Beatings with birch rods were so common that some prisoners seemed hardly to notice them. Lashings with the cat were something else again. Chekhov hears that an escapee has been recaptured and sentenced to 90 strokes. Sick with apprehension but determined to *live* Sakhalin down to its last horror, he watches the naked wretch tied to a board and slowly cut to a pulp by an executioner who enjoys the work. Chekhov makes medical observations on various physiological effects. He notes the German medic's abnormal savoring of the spectacle. He is Dante among the Russian damned, filled with terror and pity but desperately concerned to get the facts above all and in their right order and relationship. Then he goes out for air, only to force himself back into the room for the rest of the count.

But episodes of this color and intensity are rare in *The Island*, and they are linked by longish stretches of drily enumerative lists: the number of inhabitants, male and female, the number of households, the quantity of coal produced, the yield of this and that crop per acre, the annual mean temperature, the annual rainfall, the number of cubic yards of air per prisoner, and so on. We are not the original audience of this book. Our concern is more for those political prisoners still in Soviet camps than for those Chekhov could not see. What strikes

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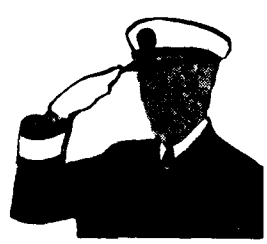

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An Announcement

to readers of *The New Republic*

In a recent issue you were treated to Mr. Irving Howe's excellent article "Henry James' Return to America." In that article Mr. Howe wrote perceptively of James' impressions of the United States as set forth in James' eloquent and evocative book, *The American Scene.*

It is our pleasure to announce that in February, 1968, *The American Scene* will be reissued in a new, definitive edition with introduction, notes, bibliography, and critical apparatus by Mr. Leon Edel, distinguished Henry James scholar. The price of this scholarly edition will be $7.50 in the clothbound library edition and $2.95 in paperback.

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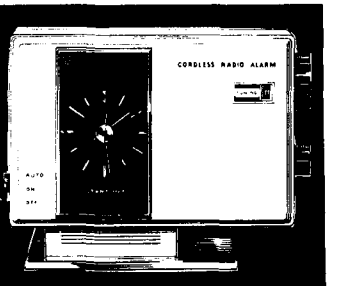

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us today about all these statistics is not the information itself but the fact that Chekhov occupied himself in gathering it. His amiable humanity pervades even the most tedious pages of bookkeeping, and we readily indulge him because he is Chekhov. Still, we want not his facts but his reaction, and that is far more vividly recorded in the letters of this period than in *The Island*, where he evidently thought the cause of reform better served by a certain dryness.

The translation is of the kind often called "uneven," which is a gentle way of saying that it is totally unreliable, since one can never be sure of reading what Chekhov wrote. His Russian is famously clear and free of nonessentials, and since it never baffles the intelligence, I have found that readers with no Russian at all can accurately spot many of the blunders of this version by simply underlining what they do not understand. Writing of the repellent obscenity on the island, Chekhov is made to say, "There are disgusting scribbles on benches and backyard walls, and there are also love letters." What he wrote was that not only the graffiti "but even love letters are revolting." Ships, on leaving port, improbably *cast anchor.* People *pay their debt to nature* when they are not dying but only answering the call of nature. One settlement, because of its remoteness, is known for *tenacity?* The Russian says *harbouring of criminals.*

But not all the errors that litter these pages leap so readily to the eye. Chekhov strove to be accurate about the natural and social worlds of his Hell, but his translators have thwarted him in a way revealed only by comparing the texts. One could otherwise not know that firs become elms, vegetables become fruit, dead geese come alive, and pigs are numbered among "horned livestock." The social nuance of the dialogue is flattened into a blur or, worse yet, reversed: what Chekhov says to his coachman is here said by the coachman to Chekhov. *Barin*, one of the most usual Russian words for a gentleman, is elevated into the title of *Baron.* On one occasion Chekhov, out driving at dusk, sees a kind of apparition: a convict in a white garment poling himself rapidly along

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some railroad tracks in a small cart. With his usual sparse notation, Chekhov renders the mood of this little vignette with only two Russian words, *stanovitsia zhutko*, which mean that he felt terror-stricken. The translators render this with a schoolboy's howler, "he stopped abruptly," and thereby botch the whole scene.

The Island is very far from being what Robert Payne preposterously calls it in his Introduction – "perhaps his greatest work" – but it deserves better than this. It was almost literally written with Chekhov's blood, and it was well written. This odd salad of narrative, statistics and propaganda is abundantly redeemed by the moral heroism behind it, and I regard it as a national shame that it should have been rendered here with unconscionable sloppiness.

The Young Picasso

by Hilton Kramer

Confronted with still another massive volume on Picasso, one's inclination is to balk. It seems impossible that one more expensive and unwieldy addition to a bibliography already exceeding the bounds of reasonable documentation could be justified by anything but the interests of the market. Yet the volume under review quickly persuades us otherwise. For anyone interested in Picasso's artistic development, in the transformation of turn-of-the-century aesthetics into the lineaments of modern painting, or – what comes to the same thing – the genesis of the School of Paris, this bulky tome is an essential scholarly and visual record.

Picasso: The Blue and Rose Periods
A Catalogue Raisonné
of the Paintings, 1900-1906
by Pierre Daix and Georges Boudaille
Catalogue compiled with the
collaboration of Joan Rosselet
(New York Graphic Society; $29.95)

True, the authors tend to be verbose where they ought to be laconic, and their attitude toward their subject is anything but critical. For them, Picasso can do no wrong. But this tendency to hero worship does not interfere with the task at hand, which is to establish the exact chronology of Picasso's production in the years 1900-1906. Research of this sort is seldom free of a certain devotional atmosphere – only a true believer, it seems, can sustain his energies in the face of the tedium that is essential to such painstaking tasks – and Messrs. Daix and Boudaille are by no means the worst offenders.

What the authors have undertaken is, in effect, to explain in historical and pictorial detail what Gertrude Stein meant when she wrote of Picasso's early work: "Well he was in Paris and all painting had an influence upon him and his literary friends were a great stimulation to him. I do not mean that by all this he was less Spanish. But certainly for a short time he was more French." Indeed, the revelation of this book is to show us how much "more French" Picasso was in his work of this period than he was ever to be again.

When the period opens, Picasso is an energetic, independent, already precocious, but unformed artist of 19. He has had a certain experience of the bohemian-anarchist worlds of Barcelona and Madrid – an experience that leaves a permanent impression on his sensibility and social outlook, still visible today – and he displays remarkable gifts. When the period closes, he is an established figure of the Parisian avant garde, an intimate of the Steins, Apollinaire, and Max Jacob. "From this time," as Daix and Boudaille remark, "Picasso was the center of a wide circle, as he has never ceased to be since."

In the autumn of 1900, he pays his first visit to Paris. For the next six years there is a good deal of coming and going between Spain and the French capital, and it is by no means certain that Spain will be permanently abandoned. In the beginning, his Paris friends are mainly Spaniards like himself, young, poor, and aspiring. In the spring of 1901, he was back in Madrid, intending to settle there, and founded a review, *Arte Joven*, but in a few

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months he returned to Paris. His painting was already committed to – and certainly dependent upon – the new values he had discovered there. He was by no means "less Spanish" – the Spanish masters still held sway over his imagination, and the intellectual ferment of Barcelona continued to exercise a great influence on his thinking – but his immersion in the mainstream of Post-Impressionist art was gaining force.

His work was not original in these first years of the century, but it already had a strong character and profile. For an account of the ideas that nourished it, a slender volume published five years ago – *Picasso: The Formative Years*, by Phoebe Pool – is more useful than the sketchy intellectual materials furnished in the new book. (Miss Pool, incidentally, is the translator of the new book – a happy conjunction of translator and text such as one rarely finds in art publishing.) Foremost among these ideas was that peculiar synthesis of radical-anarchist social views, Art Nouveau decoration, and Nietzschean ethics that flourished in Barcelona in the late nineties. Munch and Wagner, Beardsley and Kropotkin, Tolstoy and Ruskin and Ibsen – these were the patron saints of the culture Picasso absorbed in his teens and which, in combination with his absorption in the Spanish masters (El Greco being then a new discovery, even in Spain), formed the substance of the sensibility he brought to Paris.

In France, this sensibility found itself challenged by the full force of Post-Impressionist paintings. Messrs. Daix and Boudaille are particularly good on tracing the effects of Van Gogh, Degas, Cézanne, Gauguin, and Toulouse-Lautrec on Picasso – not only in general terms, but picture by picture – as he encounters the exhibitions that featured their works in these years. Nothing testifies more eloquently to the strength of Picasso's abilities at this early age than the work he produced under the impact of these artists; their trace is on everything he turns his hand to, yet there is none of the pastiche, none of that surrender of personal identity, that so often characterizes the art of a young painter coming to terms with something new.

Daix and Boudaille speak of the proto-Fauve elements in Picasso's work of these years – the heightened color, the bravura brushwork, and so on – but I think this only betrays their French bias. For what Picasso did anticipate in this work – especially in the paintings of lovers, cafés, and cabarets dating from 1900 – was the Expressionism that would flourish a few years later in the studios of Northern and Central Europe and that was based, like Picasso's work, on a synthesis of radical social views and Post-Impressionist aesthetics. This strong Expressionist component, which French critics even today find impossible to grant aesthetic recognition, persisted in Picasso's work until the Blue Period (1903). And indeed, even the Blue Period is a refinement, a revision rather than an abandonment, of the Expressionist manner. It shows us Picasso still responding to French art, though increasingly less so, through the screen of Northern European values.

Nor was his affinity for Northern European art brought to an end in the Blue Period paintings. In 1905 he paid a short visit to Holland, an experience that prompted a return to an earthier, more painterly style than that of the Blue Period. But this was short-lived. By then he was already into what is still called the Rose Period, though, unlike the Blue Period, this term describes what is essentially a transition rather than a fixed point in his development.

The transition was, of course, to culminate in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* of 1907 – a picture that falls beyond the scope of the present study. Cézanne is now firmly installed as the patron saint, and together with the discovery of African sculpture it is Cézanne who points the way to the future. Picasso's *Two Nudes* of 1906, now in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, is a picture poised halfway

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Clarence Brown *is a member of the Slavics Department at Princeton University.* Hilton Kramer *is an art critic for* The New York Times. Richard Gilman, *formerly theatre critic of* Newsweek, *will be reviewing theatrical events regularly, in collaboration with* NR's *drama editor,* Robert Brustein.

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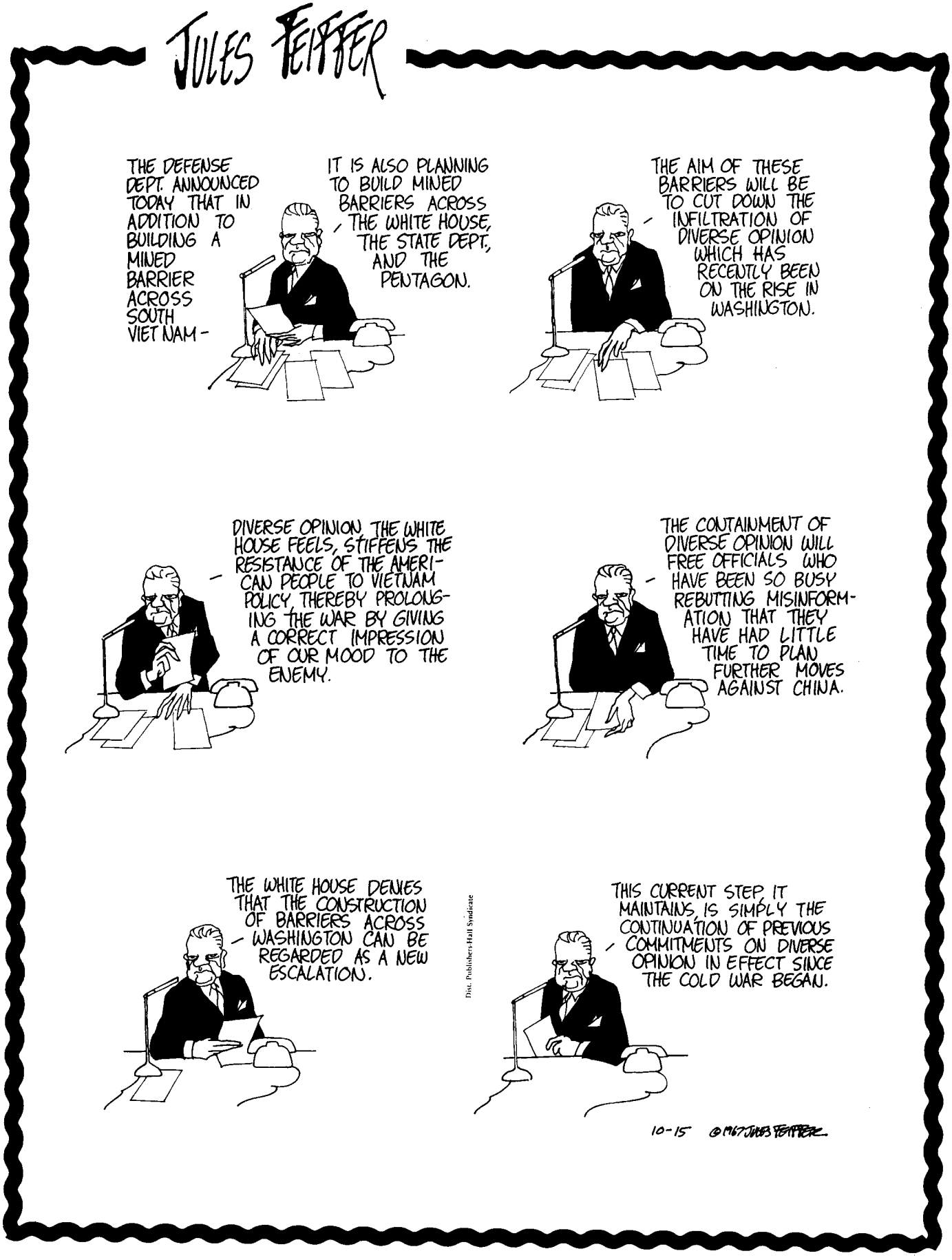
JULES FEIFFER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between Cézanne's *Bathers* series and the audacities of *Les Demoiselles*.

Despite his strong Expressionist leanings in these years, the Picasso of this study is essentially a French-oriented artist, learning from Cézanne and Toulouse-Lautrec and Gauguin and Van Gogh, but preeminently from Cézanne, to assimilate his emotions and his strong social and literary views to the specifications of a cogent pictorial style. This was a lesson that all but a very few of the Expressionists failed to learn, a lesson in sublimation that made it possible for Picasso to enter ultimately into that astonishing collaboration with Braque that produced Cubism and thus to change the face of painting in the 20th century.

It is one of the virtues of this book that it rescues the pictures of these early years – many of them, so easy to like and so easy to use as bludgeons against the artist's later audacities – from the sentimental adoration into which they had fallen. It restores them to their proper position in one of the great artistic adventures of the century.

THEATRE

Pre-Vintage Pinter

Harold Pinter is at the height of his powers and of his fame, and the light from these spreads backwards to gather up a very early play like *The Birthday Party* in a retroactive éclat: because he is so much now he could not have been so much less then. Yet seen from a perspective of nearly ten years, since the play was first performed in London, or seven, since I first read it, *The Birthday Party* is so much manner and so little style that it is hard to see what one could have been so excited about. As someone remarked during one of the intermissions, how strange it is that Pinter should have written a parody of himself before he had written the major works which might be parodied.

The Birthday Party, by Harold Pinter
(Booth Theatre)

The Birthday Party, for those unfamiliar with it (it has been done in this country by the San Francisco Actors Workshop and in several college productions), takes place in a shabby rooming-house in a nameless seaside resort. A young man named Stanley Webber has been staying for a year as the place's only guest, doing nothing discernible except to serve, resentfully, as the frumpy landlady's substitute child. The landlady's husband announces that two men have inquired about a room. At this news, Stanley is thrown into inexplicable alarm, which increases when they arrive (although they seem never to have met). The men – Goldberg, a fiftyish pseudo-sophisticate, and McCann, a younger bully-boy, proceed to arrange a party for Stanley when the landlady tells them it's his birthday (which he denies). But before it is held, they subject him to a bizarre third-degree: "Why are you wasting everybody's time?" "Why did you leave the organization?" "Is the number 846 possible or necessary?"

During the party the landlady tries haplessly to interest the now drunken McCann in her charms, Goldberg slowly seduces a neighbor girl, and Stanley, under further badgering, moves catatonically about until the fete ends with his attempt to strangle the landlady. The next morning the men announce to the troubled landlord that Stanley has had a mental breakdown and that they are taking him to "Monty" in their big black car. Stanley is led down, dressed in morning clothes and a bowler hat and looking as though he has been embalmed. In a climactic scene they tell him about the rich and lucky life they have planned for him, but he can only utter strangled, animal-like sounds. The play ends with the landlady, unaware of Stanley's departure, remarking to her husband how she had been the belle of last night's ball.

Throughout this elaborate theatrical

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red herring smaller fish of that description swim through the mise-en-scène. Stanley may or may not be a pianist. McCann tears newspapers into long, even strips. Goldberg, who is called Nat by McCann, refers to himself as Simey and again as Benny in recounting his childhood. At one point Goldberg, hitherto the model of loquacity and amiable patter, breaks down at the end of a speech, saying over and over, "Because I believe that the world. . . ." From moment to moment Pinter turns corners, doubles back, contradicts what has just occurred, introduces irrelevancies, undercuts sentiment with violence and violence with sentimentality. The impression is inescapable that we are in the presence of a dramatist who, at this initial stage of his career, was in flight from the English drama as it had largely been constituted up to then: orderly, logical, discreet, sequential, rational.

The arbitrary fusion of intense domesticity and unparalleled danger, the conversations which at times are meaningless and at others seem to be means of exchanging exact information, the repetitions that have the effect of making grotesque emblems out of the most commonplace expressions and yet which aren't used in any but a sporadic way – all this reveals *The Birthday Party* as engaged less in constructing a new dramatic reality than in overthrowing an established one.

Moreover, the game certainly isn't allegory.

Pinter has denied any symbolic or allegorical intent in his work, and he is to be believed. What backs him up in a play like *The Birthday Party* is the inconsequence of its most seemingly telling effects, the fact that they are nothing more than effects, the way in which the entire play stands riddled with arbitrary procedures instead of generating its own inexorable logic of illogic. But though it isn't an allegory, the play isn't an achieved dramatic vision either. Pinter has come a long way to *The Homecoming*, where nothing is arbitrary or aimed at something else, nothing is irrational for the mere sake of not being rational; the dramatic reality, fed by ten years of a growing freedom for drama to be its own reality, is secure and coherent.

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day Party seems to resign itself to defeat from the outset. The set (by William Ritman) lacks bite; shabby enough, it is too detailed to contain Pinter's nonrepresentational meanings and yet not detailed enough, not down-at-heel enough if the line is going to be a naturalistic one. Alan Schneider's direction suffers from the same indecision. He has asked his performers – Henderson Forsythe and Ruth White as the proprietors, James Patterson as Stanley, Ed Flanders and Edward Winter as Goldberg and McCann – for verisimilitude, but verisimilitude to what? Are they in a domestic melodrama with symbolic and poetic overtones or in a fantasy with domestic disguises? The result of nobody's knowing is that even Pinter's own tentative accomplishments, his sometimes hilarious table-turnings ("Down on your knees and confess," McCann arbitrarily orders the neighbor girl, to which Goldberg airily adds, "Go ahead, confess, what have you got to lose") are swallowed up in a pervasive mist of misguided realism. What it amounts to is a boring evening, something Pinter, even in his first, inadequate constructions was never guilty of on his own.

RICHARD GILMAN

Correspondence

Ghetto Education

Sirs:

As an original New Yorker and a reasonably long time resident of Washington, D.C. with many friends and members of my family (including my wife) in the teaching profession in both these areas, I have seen what has been happening to their respective school systems. I have seen scores of families who have left Manhattan and South and Central Bronx, and who have left the District of Columbia because of one reason and one reason only: the schools. And I am willing to bet that had Messrs. Schwartz, Pettigrew, and Smith ("Fake Panaceas for Ghetto Education," September 23) been in the same position as these families they would have moved to the suburbs too. I have yet to meet parents, especially white middle class intellectuals, who would send their children to schools they consider to be inferior regardless of how much they may be distressed by the existence of such schools. . . .

To assume that school integration of the Manhattan and Washington, D.C. school systems can be achieved in the foreseeable future (that is two to three decades from now) without introducing authoritarian measures of population control, is quixotic at best. Meanwhile there will be hundreds of thousands of underprivileged children in these two school systems, millions if one includes the other big cities with similar problems, who are literally doomed to inferior education for a long time to come. In their zeal for integration Messrs. Schwartz, Pettigrew, and Smith give too short a shrift to the significant point made by Joseph Alsop ("No More Noise About Ghetto Education," July 22) that such children, *here and now*, can be given a better education and even a reasonably good one if we only begin to attend to the problem and invest the necessary money and effort. . . .

What about the growing number of Negroes who do not want integration, yet do want their children to be given a good education? Should the Amish be forced to give up their educational system? Or even more, the Catholics? Should we abolish the private preparatory schools to which the more wealthy among our citizenry send their children? Messrs. S. P. and S. seem to think so. In their reply we find a sentence pregnant with implications and contradictions: "Reduced to its simplest terms, our belief is that interracial contact is an essential component of quality education, that schools which are isolated by virtue of race, *social class, or religion* deprive their students of adequate preparation for a diverse society and world." (Stress not in original.) There are two blatant contradictions in this sentence. 1. "Social class" and "religion" cut across the races and are irrelevant to the main subject of this sentence: interracial contact. 2. Given a completely "homogenized" education, diversity in this country will soon begin to languish. The challenge to America is to foster differences among its people without penalizing groups of people for being different in "undesirable" ways. And this includes

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the right for groups of people to set up segregated schools, be they based upon race, religion, or income, where differences desired by these groups can be fostered from childhood up.

Implicit in the sentence cited is a *hubris* all too common among many of our intellectuals, especially among those who call themselves social scientists. "We know what is good for the country by virtue of our superior intelligence and our specialized scientific education." When this "wisdom" is doubted they respond with fury. Here is where Alsop overstepped the bounds they allow him, and this is why they responded in a tirade. He dared to question their research. He dared to characterize it as deficient, irresponsible, and scandalous. In defense of their wounded honor they lose sight of the thousands of children who are doomed to a substandard existence because while so-called wise men investigated, the children were given a poor education or no education at all.

Shades of the Commissar.

Nehemiah Jordan
Washington, D.C.

"Fake Panaceas for Ghetto Education" (September 23) is a debater's mishmash, the main virtue of which is to continue public discussion of a vital educational issue: how can 2 million slum and ghetto children be given education which will permit them to succeed in the competition of American economic and social life. Mr. Alsop's thesis in "No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education" was that (a) the solution to this central problem cannot wait until our city schools are desegregated, and (b) good education for the children of the ghettos will cost a lot more than we now spend. He cited New York City's More Effective Schools program as an example of what could be done immediately.

The MES program was never advanced as a "panacea"; that term was introduced to the discussion by Messrs. Schwartz, Pettigrew, and Smith. There are no panaceas in education, but some things work better than others. While it may be possible to find a handful of comparable elementary schools in New York City which perform as well as or better than the MES schools, the success of these exceptions will be found to be due to special circumstances (unusually outstanding supervisory or teacher leadership, for instance) which cannot realistically be duplicated on a large scale. The MES program provides the ingredients for overcoming the difficulties which prevent most other New York City schools from succeeding.

During the course of the recent teacher-Board negotiations in New York, the union repeatedly stated its willingness to agree to modifications in the present MES program, and it even suggested changes. However, the Board was unwilling to agree to expansion of the program, even with modifications, at its present level of support. Fortunately this impasse was resolved by agreement to establish a joint union-board-community "work group" to make recommendations for expansion of the MES program or similar "total school" programs, and by setting aside $10 million in next year's budget so that the recommendations of the work group can be carried out.

The new agreement gives assurance of continuing progress in the search for effective education for the children of poverty, even if such progress will cost a lot more money than we now spend.

David Selden
Assistant to the President
American Federation of Teachers

Tax Troubles

Sirs:

The incredible current confusion about federal tax and spending policy, with people in places of high responsibility arguing that we should have tax increases if federal spending is reduced but not have them if it is not, demonstrates that the "New Economics" must now suffer the consequences of its own almost inexplicable derelictions.

I opposed the massive tax cuts of 1964 on the ground that, while the economy needed stimulation, predominant reliance upon massive tax cuts would stimulate expanded production and consumption of what we needed least and, by its repressive effect upon increased federal spending, would starve our great domestic public priorities – the war against poverty, replacement of the ghettos, reduction of riot-producing unemployment, expanded health and educational facilities and

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Chief among those men who struggled with the problems of Jewish consciousness were Moses Mendelssohn, David Friedlander, Leopold Zunz, Eduard Gans, and Heinrich Heine. By 1824, liberal Judaism had not yet produced a vision of its future as a separate identity within European society, but it had been exposed to and grappled with all the significant problems that still confront the Jew in the West.

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The answer of the "New Economics" was that either tax cuts or increased public spending could restore the economy, and that the "practical" thing was to go the easy route of giving corporations and individuals more to spend themselves, instead of using public spending to do what the nation and the people needed most. When I objected that, especially in a nation as rich and productive as ours, national economic policies could not be divorced from human and social values, the "New Economics" replied that economists, even those in the public service, must be "neutral" about such values. Moreover, the "New Economics" swelled its chorus of self-praise even when the rapid economic upturn of 1964-66 was followed by the economic stagnation of early 1966 to date (which I predicted).

So where are we today? If either tax cuts or more public spending were equally effective ways of dealing with a deflationary "gap," with the choice to be made on the basis of which was more congenial to the powers that be, then today, in the face of a real or alleged inflationary danger, either tax increases or drastic cuts in Federal domestic spending are equally effective alternatives, and we should again do what is most congenial to the powers that be.

The economic and "practical" lesson which Dr. Walter Heller and his successors have taught has been learned all too well, and the "New Economics" is now about to be hanged on its own gallows.

Leon H. Keyserling
Washington, D.C.

No Pressure

Sirs:

In *The New Republic* of August 5, 1967, there was an unfortunate reference to US Rubber in the article entitled "The Fallen Courier." The statement that US Rubber "might" deny advertising to any paper which did not advertise in *The Courier* is embarrassing to us. We have never used such pressure and never would. Further, we had no plans to advertise in *The Courier* before 1968. Your article brought us critical correspondence from colleges. Since the implication in your article was unfounded, we would appreciate it if you would put the record straight.

Arthur M. York
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Kauffmann, *from page 22*

Kolpacoff simply uses his prose as a wagon on which to move his pageant along. When he adds "fine touches," he usually falters:

> "I looked at the rings of barbed wire and at the blind huts. Men, convicts and soldiers together, lived in them with their eyes fixed on the ground, waiting for their salvation, yet doing nothing to bring it."
>
> "And now the boy . . . was once again standing on his feet with his veins full of the drug that Finley had forced into him."

This last is the way *The New York Post* might describe a hypodermic injection it disapproved of. All injections force drugs into people.

The characters have their roles, and they go through them: not woodenly but without special individuality *within* their roles and without deepening, even in the moments of crisis that most of them have. Only Kreuger really moves through a peripeteia to a changed self.

When the change starts, when Buckley goes off to act on Kreuger's invented information, Kreuger reveals his lie to the attending doctor in the shed, and says that now he is going to tell everyone:

> "If I keep quiet, Buckley only made a mistake. But if I tell them what I did, and keep on telling it no matter where they send me, he made a fool of himself. He's finished. I don't care what happens after that."

It reminded me of Sartre's play *Dirty Hands*. Sartre's young hero, assigned by his party to a political murder, kills the victim out of marital jealousy. He has a chance to escape retribution but refuses; only by facing his fate can he connect his action with what ought to have been his motive. In Kolpacoff's novel, too, a second action is necessary to fulfill a first; but Kreuger does not fulfill the phrase. Sartre's hero goes to his death because of his beliefs; Kreuger saves his skin because, at the spearpoint of the moment, he cannot believe in any reason not to. For Sartre only the loci of heroism and cowardice have changed; for Kolpacoff the concepts themselves are in question. His book suggests the futility of violence done in the name of beliefs; that sooner or later the killing or death is mocked; that men who have zealous convictions, however high-minded or holy, run the risk of ultimate violence to support their convictions; and thus risk that ultimate mockery.

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A PROPOSITION

A wild new thing is about to happen: the mad, mod scene is about to witness the birth of a fantastic new magazine destined for greatness. Its name is **Avant-Garde**.

As its name implies, **Avant-Garde** will be a forward-directed, daring, and wildly hedonistic magazine. It will report on every aspect of the ebullient new life-style now emerging in America, and it will do so with no put-ons and no inhibitions.

The pages of **Avant-Garde** will explode with biting satire, incisive profiles, audacious reportage, lush graphic art, consciousness-expanding fiction, and poetry that *speaks*. **Avant-Garde** will cover Art, Politics, Science, and every other subject of interest to readers of superior intelligence and cultivated taste. It will be a bimonthly of:

–*beauty*, bringing to graphic art a transcendental new kind of high;

–*truth*, eschewing platitudes and really telling it like it is; and

–*love*, unabashedly reveling in the One Universal Ultimate Good.

In short, **Avant-Garde** will be a hip, joyous, beautiful new magazine. It will be the *voice* of the Turned-On Generation.

Perhaps the best way to describe **Avant-Garde** for you is to list the kinds of articles it will print:

The Dead-Serious Movement to Run Allen Ginsberg for Congress

Homage to Muhammad Ali–High praise by 35 celebrities (including Marlon Brando, Jackie Robinson, and Woody Allen).

Coming: Synthetic (and Therefore Legal) Marijuana

Group Psychotherapy on TV

Radio Free America–A professor's plan (already in motion) to establish a pirate radio station off the coast of California.

The "Bust" of Charlotte Moorman–The gifted young cellist describes her arrest for giving a concert hall recital "topless."

The CIA's Super-Salaried "Super-Spook"–*An exposé* of an operative who is paid $1 million a year to fink for Big Brother.

The Intellectual Companions of Jacqueline Kennedy

Bob Dylan's Suppressed–and Pithiest–Song Lyrics

Salvador Dali: A New Dimension in Erotic Art–Drawings created especially to celebrate the launching of **Avant-Garde**.

George Romney's Bizarre Religious Beliefs

Toward the Elimination of War–A little-known exchange of correspondence between Einstein and Freud.

Understanding Zowie–A glossary of Switched-On Generation jargon.

The Fugs–New York's most way-out electronic raga-rock nerve-thrill company.

A Gastronomical Guide to the Year 2000

The Writing on the Wall–The emergence of graffiti as a medium of social protest.

Move Over, Lady Chatterley–A preview of several erotic classics soon to be published in this country for the first time.

The Prison Poems of Ho Chi Minh

Mixed-Media Art: The Pop World's Newest "Scrambled Oeuvre"

My Love for You Is Stronger than Dirt–The Madison Avenue dating scene as observed by Dan ("How to Be a Jewish Mother") Greenburg.

Poets at War–Bitter anti-war verse by GI's in Vietnam.

John Lennon as a Master of Prose

Ingenious–and Perfectly Legal–New Ways Around Abortion Laws

Everett Dirksen as "The Wizard of Ooze"–A Pop Impression.

The Emergence of Abstract Expressionist Journalism–As exemplified by the L.A. **Free Press**, N.Y. **East Village Other**, and Berkeley **Barb**.

Aubrey Beardsley's Suppressed Erotic Works–A Portfolio.

A Geneticist's Plea for State-Sponsored Breeding of Supermen

Pornographic Film Festivals at Lincoln Center by 1970–Predictions by an underground film-maker.

In sum, **Avant-Garde** will be a feast of gourmet food-for-thought prepared by the avant-garde for the avant-garde. It will be the quintessence of intellectual sophistication.

The creative director of **Avant-Garde** is one of the most fertile minds in American publishing today: Herb Lubalin, the country's foremost art director (it was he who designed *the elegant–and cruelly* suppressed–quarterly *Eros*). In addition, the staff of **Avant-Garde** includes several of the most gifted artists, writers, and photographers of our time.

In format, **Avant-Garde** will more closely resemble an expensive art folio than a magazine. It will be printed by costly offset lithography on the finest antique and coated papers. It will be bound in 12-point Frankote boards for permanent preservation.

Avant-Garde will be available by subscription only. It will cost $10 per year. This is not cheap, *but* we have a proposition:

If you will enter your subscription *right now*, before **Avant-Garde**'s first issue is sold out, we will send you eight months–the better part of a year–for *only $3.99*. This is a *MERE FRACTION of its actual value!*

As a Charter Subscriber, you will also be entitled to:

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